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Print On Demand: Stereotyping And Electrotyping In The United States Printing Trades And Publishing Industry, 1812-1860

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PRINT ON DEMAND: STEREOTYPING AND ELECTROTYPING IN THE UNITED
STATES PRINTING TRADES AND PUBLISHING INDUSTRY, 1812-1860

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of Leopold Korecki.

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ABSTRACT

Print on Demand explores the role and significance of stereotyping and electrotyping in the United States printing trades and publishing industry during the early nineteenth century. Stereotyping—the creation of solid printing plates cast from moveable type—fundamentally changed the ways in which books (and later, periodicals) were printed. The commissioning of plates altered shop practices, distribution methods, and the author/publisher relationship. Because of this new embodiment of capital and texts in the form of printing plates, a secondhand market for stereotyped works prolonged and complicated the production and distribution of material texts. The primary focus of this study is the ways in which the printing trades and nascent publishing industry in the early nineteenth-century United States managed this transition. It examines the relationships between typefounders and the printer/publishers who employed them to cast plates, and the decisions made by publishers deciding which books to invest in plates to maximize the production and distribution of certain types of printed works. It looks at the evangelical origins of mass media in the United States through the work of the American Bible Society, whose founding coincided perfectly with the introduction of stereotyping. It also looks at the ways in which a newfound material understanding of the role of texts pervades nineteenth-century American culture, from the physicality and ubiquity of plates to the popular uses of the term stereotyping itself as a metaphor for the expansiveness and limitations of rapid technological change.

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INTRODUCTION

Were we required to characterise this age of ours by any single epithet, we should be tempted to call it, not an Heroical, Devotional, Philosophical, or Moral Age, but, above all others, the Mechanical Age. It is the Age of Machinery, in every outward and inward sense of that word; the age which, with its whole undivided might, forwards, teaches and practices the great art of adapting means to ends.

— Thomas Carlyle, “Signs of the Times” (1829)¹

In his 1816 inaugural address at Harvard as Rumford Professor of the Application of Science to the Useful Arts, Jacob Bigelow highlighted the particular inventive achievements of citizens of the United States, not in search of fame or fortune, but in their technological progress and spirit of improvement. Bigelow argued that the origins, government, and natural resources of the United States set it apart and created unique conditions for advancement: “The progress of our internal improvements, and the high state of the mechanic arts among us, as well as in our sister states, has entitled us to the character of a nation of inventors.”² American invention, he argued, should serve a higher purpose than simply to make profits for owners. Bigelow believed that labor without human progress and invention without improvement in the social good was a model more suited to older, European societies. In America, a republican spirit of quiet progress and innovation in the mechanic arts was the reason the new republic had advanced so far in so

¹ Thomas Carlyle. “Signs of the Times.” In *The Works of Thomas Carlyle. Centenary Edition*. Vol. XXVII. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1899: 56-82 (cited 59).

² Jacob Bigelow. *Inaugural Address, Delivered in the Chapel of the University at Cambridge, December 11, 1816*. Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1817: 16-27.

short a time, gaining its freedom and becoming a progressive model for the rest of the world.

This early articulation of American mechanical exceptionalism closely linked democratic principles with technological improvement, all in the service of realizing human potential. Bigelow himself would coin the new term “technology” in 1829 when his expansive survey of American mechanical achievements, *Elements of Technology*, was published, notably, in the same year as Carlyle’s essay “Signs of the Times,” with its negative portrayal of the machine.³ For many in the new republic, mechanical innovation seemed to be a natural outgrowth of democratic values. Any early hesitation about the growth of technology and its role in the new nation gradually went away as nineteenth-century innovations proved that technological progress and republicanism could reinforce each other for the betterment of, if not all, then at least many. As John Kasson notes, throughout the early nineteenth century, public voices “hailed the union of technology and republicanism and celebrated their fulfillment in an ever more prosperous and progressive nation.”⁴ Thomas Jefferson, the champion of agrarianism, held an Enlightenment-based sense of optimism in the progress of science to solve real problems and improve the lives of ordinary people. As Secretary of State, he reviewed the first United States patent applications in the 1790s. As President, he saw the newly-formed Patent Office (1802) as a symbol of American ingenuity. A republican government could help encourage and cultivate native talent in the mechanic arts in ways other forms of

³ Jacob Bigelow. *Elements of Technology: Taken Chiefly from a Course of Lectures Delivered at Cambridge, on the Applications of the Sciences to the Useful Arts, Now Published for the Use of Seminaries and Students*. Boston: Hillard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1829. Bigelow speaks positively about stereotyping in *Elements of Technology* and describes the process in detail.

⁴ John F. Kasson. *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776-1900*. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1976: 3.

government could not. Writing to Robert Fulton in 1810, Jefferson said, “I am not afraid of new inventions or improvements, nor bigoted to the practices of our forefathers.” He was suspicious of America becoming a country of manufacturers, to be sure, but felt that technological improvements and their cultivation could alter the quality of life for all citizens in meaningful ways.⁵

During this time, in a thirty-year period from 1810 to 1840, the printing trades and nascent publishing industry in the United States underwent a series of innovations that changed how books and other printed matter were produced. In a short amount of time, the introduction of power presses, the first machine-made paper, the introduction of stereotyping – printing from cast plates instead of standing type – and the consolidation of some local printers into regional or national publishers all presented challenges and opportunities to an existing trade whose localized, artisan craft practices had not fundamentally changed since the early days of printing in the fifteenth century. All of these innovations became market-ready, at least for some well-capitalized printers, during these decades. The most successful printers amassed capital (partially in the form of stereotype plates) and secured wider distribution networks for their trade, allowing them to rightfully be called publishers in the modern sense. Newly-formed organizations such as the American Bible Society immediately grasped the ways in which these innovations could allow them to dramatically increase the scale and impact of their mission to produce and distribute scripture to the nation. The calculated growth and innovation of regional printing and publishing businesses during this time, together with their successes

⁵ Quoted in Hugo A. Meier. “Thomas Jefferson and Democratic Technology.” In Carroll W. Pursell, Jr., ed. *Technology in America: A History of Individuals and Ideas*. Second edition. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990: 17-33 (cited 21).

and failures, paved the way for the large-scale, nationally-focused commercial publishers which would emerge in the United States by midcentury.

Print on Demand investigates the development and uses of stereotyping and its companion process, electrotyping, in the antebellum United States, primarily through the lens of printing and publishing history. It argues that the choices made by printers and publishers in employing stereotype technology were critical to the large-scale development of the publishing industry in this country. For the right type of publication and the right type of business, investing in stereotype plates could secure market share and provide years of cheap reprinting. For the wrong choice of text, it could tie up significant amounts of capital better used elsewhere. As some local printers effectively grew into regional and national publishers, these decisions about when and how to invest in new technology became crucial to their growth and success. *Print on Demand* explores some of these stories, including several unsuccessful ones. By mining the archive of nineteenth-century United States printers and publishers, a much more detailed picture emerges about how individuals in the printing trades reacted to technological change and disruptions in their business, adding new depth to scholarship in the history of the book in the United States.

Aileen Fyfe has recently argued that technological changes in the printing trades during the nineteenth century are often alluded to in scholarship, but how they occurred is still little studied.⁶ The introduction and impact of stereotyping is mentioned in all the recent national histories of the book in America, Britain, France, and Canada, and also in manuals of bibliography and other works of printing history. But the last full-length

⁶ Aileen Fyfe. *Steam-Powered Knowledge: William Chambers and the Business of Publishing, 1820-1860*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

monograph on stereotyping in the printing trades was published in 1941.⁷ There are also other areas in which a deeper study of the introduction of stereotyping in the United States could be fruitful. Scholars in the field of American Studies have recognized that a culture of uncritical technological positivism pervades much of the American history of technology and that increased interdisciplinary attention needs to be paid to “stories of technological stewardship” and critiques of technology “as both substance and ideology in American cultural life.”⁸ As this study is primarily concerned with the introduction of a newly-created physical object—a stereotype plate—into a trade, an object that contains both textual meaning and embodied capital, it is also important to consider the increased attention being placed on how material objects resonate and make new meanings as individuals interact with and to them. Anthropological and historical studies of objects in the past few decades are now commonplace (the latter often grouped, for better or worse, into “material culture” studies), but objects and their meanings are also the subject of increased attention by literary scholars and theorists.⁹

⁷ George A. Kubler. *A New History of Stereotyping*. New York: J. J. Little & Ives, 1941. Kubler, a stereotyper and the president of the New York-based Certified Dry Mat Corporation, also wrote *A Short History of Stereotyping*. New York: The Author, 1928; *Historical Treatises, Abstracts and Papers on Stereotyping*. New York: J. J. Little & Ives, 1936; *Wet Mat Stereotyping in Germany in 1690*. New York: Certified Dry Mat Corporation, 1937; and *The Era of Charles Mahon, Third Earl of Stanhope, Stereotyper*. New York: The Author, 1938. These histories, while expansive, are also anecdotal and without bibliographies. The only recent article to take up stereotyping in the United States is Michael Winship. “Printing with Plates in the Nineteenth Century United States.” *Printing History* 5 (2), 1983: 15-26. Winship rightly suggests that there is much more research to be done on the growth and spread of stereotyping.

⁸ Carolyn de la Peña. “‘Slow and Low Progress,’ or Why American Studies Should Do Technology.” *American Quarterly* 58 (3) September 2006: 915-941. For an equivalent argument in British cultural studies, see Frank Trentmann. “Materiality in the Future of History: Things, Practices, and Politics.” *Journal of British Studies* 48 (April 2009): 283-307.

⁹ The touchstone work from anthropology is Arjun Appadurai, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press,

This work, then, is necessarily informed by studies in the history of technology. Printing historian Jessica Despain recently discussed the work of film scholar Rick Altman on “the social interplay that occurs between the creation of new technologies and the human usage of them.” Altman refers to this approach as ‘crisis historiography.’ It understands that the uses of technology are socially constructed, and are both

ongoing and *multiple*. That is, the technology is never socially constructed once and for all. During a crisis, a technology is understood in varying ways, resulting in modification not only of the technology itself but also of terminology, exhibition practices, and audience attitudes.¹⁰

As the introduction of stereotype plates offered printers new options for reprinting, investment, and expansion of their trade, the “crisis” they faced, in the form of decisions on how to use plates and the texts they chose to have cast into plates, fits well into this model. The multiple ways in which printers and publishers understood the importance and significance of this technology, its potential, and its limitations, and how these meanings continued to change over time drives this study. Furthermore, the material significance of a newly-cast set of stereotype plates, the ways in which this important physical change in printing apparatus was managed through storage, shipping, and its physical movement through urban and rural spaces is worthy of greater attention and will be considered here.

1986. See also Langdon Winner. “Do Artifacts Have Politics?” *Daedalus* 109 (1) Winter 1980: 121-136. In literary studies, “thing theory” has provided a helpful framework for exploring the meanings people make from objects. See especially: Bill Brown. “Thing Theory.” *Critical Inquiry* 28 (Autumn 2001): 1-22; Bill Brown, ed. *Things*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004; and Maurizio Ferraris. *Documentality: Why It Is Necessary to Leave Traces*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2013.

¹⁰ Quoted in Jessica Despain. *Nineteenth-Century Transatlantic Reprinting and the Embodied Book*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014: 2-3. Rick Altman. *Silent Film Sound*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007: 21.

As the chapters of *Print on Demand* unfold, several different business models with regard to stereotyping and the use of new technologies in the printing trades will emerge. Some individuals and organizations will successfully manage this transition in different ways; others will not. By looking closely at the individuals who worked through these changing times in their chosen professions, we can avoid the trap of falling into the standard description of how stereotyping and electrotyping played one singular role in the transformation of the nineteenth-century printing trades and publishing industry, a simplistic shorthand found in many of the standard histories that tend to embrace varying degrees of technological determinism. Michael Warner's warnings against granting technology "an ontological status prior to culture" must be kept in mind here, as well as his admonition that "practices of technology...are always structural, and that their meaningful structure is the dimension of culture."¹¹ The technological changes that will be examined here are firmly embedded within the culture of the early republic of the United States and the artisan-based, apprentice models of labor practice found in the printing trades in the modern West.

These concerns underlie the narrative of *Print on Demand*, which discusses the ways in which stereotype plates became embodied objects of capital, the corporeal manifestations of authorship and investment, intellectual property and artistic expression, movable and infused with the potential for reproduction and distribution in ways not seen before in the printing trades. By looking at authorship, printing, and publishing through a materialist lens focused on the plates which enabled change to happen, we can better

¹¹ Michael Warner. *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990: 8-10.

understand the unfolding dynamics of the printing trades and nascent publishing industry in the first half of the nineteenth century.

...

Print on Demand examines several interconnected topics relating to the introduction and use of stereotyping in the printing trades and nascent publishing industry in early nineteenth-century America. Chapter one traces the origins in Europe of the process of casting plates from set type and its first successful realizations in the United States, drawing a parallel with its multiple origin stories to the multiple national origin stories of printing itself in the fifteenth century. It updates the last histories of stereotyping that were written, by George Kubler in the 1930s and 1940s, and traces its early presence in America to successful English experiments by Charles Mahon, the Third Earl of Stanhope, and his printers in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Chapter one documents early mentions of stereotyping in printing trade manuals and popular literature and describes the first successful commercial uses of stereotype castings in New York City in the second decade of the century, the interconnections between this early group of typefounders, stereotypers, and printers, and stereotyping's early effects on the printing trades.

Chapter two focuses on the work of the Philadelphia publisher Mathew Carey as he negotiated the changing marketplace in quarto Bible production between 1813 and 1824. Already owning a complete Bible in standing type from which he could print as many copies as he needed, the introduction of stereotyped Bibles by several New York typefounders in the mid-1810s complicated Carey's market dominance and investment in the means of Bible production. As multiple sets of quarto Bible plates were produced and

threatened to upend the market, Carey was forced to make decisions about acquiring some of these sets. He was also forced to react to increased competition for the same product produced by competitors using a newer technology. Carey's main competition, New York Quaker printers and stereotypers Collins and Co., produced exactly the same range of Bible variants from their newly-cast set of stereotype plates as Carey and undercut him on price every time. As a way of maintaining his market share, Carey purchased a complete set of quarto Bible plates, only to store it untouched for several years in an unsuccessful attempt to keep it out of the market and maintain his regional monopoly on the quarto Bible trade. As multiple sets of plates of the same setting of text entered the market, only well-capitalized publishers such as Carey could afford to invest in plates. Only a few years later, as multiple sets were being used for the production of the same work in many locations around the country, any advantages one publisher may have held dissolved as the marketplace for quarto Bibles became diffuse and highly competitive.

Chapter three turns to the work of the New York-based American Bible Society, whose businessmen-founders eagerly embraced many new advances in the printing trades to enhance their mission to produce and distribute cheap Bibles throughout the United States. Evangelical organizations such as the American Bible Society (ABS) and the American Sunday School Union were the first nonprofit groups to adopt stereotyping to further their publishing goals, effectively creating the first mass media infrastructure and environment in the United States. For the ABS managers, ownership of the means to reproduce the Word at will—and transport it from place to place—was as much a sign of providence granted them by God as it was a technological or scientific advance. This

chapter explores the printing business practices of the ABS as it commissioned and amassed stereotype plates and printed cheap Bibles and New Testaments from its founding in 1816 through its attempts in the late 1820s to supply every household in the country with a copy of scripture. By looking closely at the ABS's decisions to employ new technologies in their printing work, I argue we can better understand the newly-emergent marketplace in stereotype plates, the hazards, risks, and rewards of being early adopters of new printing technologies, and the ways in which the ABS's calculated growth and innovation served as models for the large-scale commercial publishers who would emerge in the United States by midcentury.

Chapter four looks at the afterlife of stereotype plates as they were sold off, auctioned, and reprinted from within the publishing industry through an investigation of printing trade publication advertisements and an analysis of plates being offered for sale at the industry trade sales, which took place between 1824 and the turn of the century. Sets of plates were both sources of capital for publishers as well as, for the first time, true material texts, the physical embodiment of an authorial work and a self-contained source of value. Reference works and scripture were mostly without copyright, but some newly-authored works that were cast into plates were often sold or auctioned with their copyrights intact, offering second-tier or regional publishers the opportunity to acquire a work for reprinting. Some texts had long afterlives as they were bought, sold off, and printed from multiple times over many years. This chapter looks at the plates to Solomon Northup's *Twelve Years a Slave* (1853) through their later appearances at the trade sales and later reprintings, as well as Herman Melville's experiences in attempting to buy back his own stereotype plates from Harper & Brothers and at auction.

Chapter five looks into some of the cultural changes caused, in part, by the impact of stereotyping: on language, in literary circles, and in wider cultural life. It argues that a “culture of plates,” rooted in stereotyping but also encompassing other plate-based forms of signification, became ubiquitous in the nineteenth-century United States. This increased awareness and visibility of copying, plates, and reprinting raises further questions relating to authority and falsehood in print culture studies. The commonality of all kinds of metal plates and their potential to dissemble and deceive enters into popular consciousness at this time: stereotype and electrotype plates, copperplate engravings, legitimate and counterfeit currency plates, daguerreotype and tintype plates, slave registration tags, and even the mythical lost golden plates containing the *Book of Mormon*. All of these sources constitute a corpus of material texts rooted in or on plates, both authoritative and deceptive, that complicate and create new meanings within nineteenth-century American culture. Even common language quickly changed a “stereotype” and “stereotyping” from a printing industry-specific term to a synonym for copying, and then finally to a reductive term without any positive meaning.

Together, these chapters explore a changing technological landscape within the printing trades and publishing industry in nineteenth-century America and the ways in which technological innovation impacted cultures of print. The digital humanities scholar Alan Liu has aptly described “new media” encounters with older forms of media,

good narratives of new media encounter are in the end less stories than whole imaginative environments or, as I termed them, borderlands of surmise. Good accounts of new media encounter imagine affordances and configurations of potentiality.... We want a way of imagining our encounter with new media that surprises us out of the “us” we thought we knew.¹²

¹² Alan Liu. “Imagining the New Media Encounter.” In Ray Siemens, ed. *A Companion to Digital Literary Studies*. Somerset: John Wiley & Sons, 2013: 3-25 (cited 16).

It is this spirit that informs *Print On Demand* and the ways in which it looks at the changing media environment of the introduction of stereotyping into United States cultures of print during the nineteenth century, showing how the printing and publishing worlds of this time reacted to change, how businesses, organizations, and individuals utilized these new technologies to further their aims, and how the “cultures of plates” that emerged had broader meanings that rippled out and impacted popular culture and everyday life through their ultimate products: printed material texts.

CHAPTER 1

“THE UNION OF THE INTELLECTUAL AND THE MECHANICAL”: THE DEVELOPMENT AND SPREAD OF PRINTING WITH PLATES

Why, sir, in this very city there is buried treasure, treasure under ground; not diamonds, not ingots, but treasure worth far more than any said to have been hidden by Captain Kidd. Genii, imprisoned in little boxes, that at the beck of the publisher start out with a power more potent than that of the spirit described in the Arabian tale.

— The Reverend E. H. Chapin, responding to a toast on
“The Printing Press in the Age of Steam and Electricity,”
banquet of the Association of American Publishers, 1855¹

In 1832, the mathematician, economist and computing pioneer Charles Babbage published a long treatise titled *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures*. To conclude one of its earliest chapters, “Of Copying,” Babbage invites his readers to consider the printed letterforms that make up the very book they currently hold in their hands. The page before them is the final product, Babbage notes, of “six successful stages of copying”: the initial carving of a punch; the creation of a matrix; the casting of type from the matrix; the forming of a plaster mold from the set type of the book’s page; the casting

¹ *American Publishers’ Circular and Literary Gazette* I (1855): 73.

of a stereotype plate from the mold; and finally, the reverse impression of that plate, made in ink, on the page that the reader now examines.² The steps that Babbage describes are an accurate summary of the mechanical processes necessary to print a book using the newly-perfected technology of stereotyping.

Babbage's example of these new developments in typefounding and printing technologies was carefully chosen. He wanted to make his readers pause and consider, not only the hidden nature of printing and print culture in everyday life, but also a significant new advance in an old industry, one that had always sought manufacturing consistency and uniformity of output as its two primary measures of success. The complex set of skilled industrial processes required to print a book was not noticed by the consumer, who only judged the finished product against a world of similar printed matter. Machine parts and other objects of industrial manufacture, such as pieces of type and stereotype plates, must be uniform copies of each other to maximize manufacturing productivity and uniformity in output. And likewise, the advances in the printing trades in incorporating these new, additional stages of copying to the production of printed works—complicating their manufacturing process—show how, in a relatively short amount of time following their adoption, some sort of perfectibility might be achieved, an example applicable to all forms of industrial manufacturing. It is significant that the stage of creating the stereotype mold from standing type—stage four of the six in Babbage's enumeration—is where he declares “the union of the intellectual and the mechanical takes place.”³

² Charles Babbage. *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures*. 3rd edition, enlarged. London: Charles Knight, 1833: 112-113.

³ Babbage, 113.

Babbage's example helps to frame the subject of this present work, both in its scope and its aims. This dissertation investigates the earliest days of stereotyping in the United States following its introduction from England in 1812 as a new technological process. The widespread adoption of stereotyping in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries constitutes the first significant advance in printing technology since printing with moveable type was created and perfected in the fifteenth century. Just as Babbage showed his readers how areas of significant technological change lie essentially hidden in a world of printed matter, so too has the process of creating and using stereotype plates in the printing trades and publishing industry received insufficient attention from bibliographers, historians of technology, textual critics, and literary historians. This study aims to examine one aspect of a larger series of questions surrounding the early adoption, uses, and significance of the shift from printing exclusively from standing type to the creation, printing, and new set of cultural meanings generated by printing with stereotype plates in the United States.⁴

To do so, this project will incorporate methodologies and critical perspectives taken from analytical bibliography, new work in the history of the book, or book history, or critical bibliography, and will also consider this newfound "culture of plates" that developed from an American Studies and material culture studies framework, all to better understand the process of stereotyping, the history of its adoption, significance and meanings for American printers, publishers, authors, and consumers of print in the early nineteenth century.

⁴ See Michael Winship. "Printing with Plates in the Nineteenth Century United States." *Printing History* 5 (2), 1983: 15-26.

The widespread adoption of stereotyping was one of the most significant elements in the growth and maturation of the printing trades and publishing industry in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century. Stereotyping fundamentally changed the way in which books (and later, periodicals and newspapers) were printed. The book historian John Carter called it the “only one really radical invention” in printing technologies between the work of Johannes Gutenberg in the mid-fifteenth century and contemporary photo/digital composition.⁵ The commissioning of plates by printers and publishers altered shop practices, distribution methods, the relationship between authors and publishers, and labor and management issues within the printing trades. A new, secondhand market in stereotype plates developed that would further complicate the production, reprinting, and distribution of books and material texts throughout the nineteenth century. The first American plates were cast in New York in 1813. Within only a few years, typefounders in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia were producing thousands of stereotype plates that were sold to printers and publishers throughout the East Coast and even into the West. High-demand items such as schoolbooks, New Testaments, and complete Bibles were the primary texts being made into plates, and new organizations such as the American Bible Society were early adopters of the new technology.⁶ Mathew Carey, the largest publisher and the highest-volume seller of Bibles in America prior to the advent of stereotyping, early on commissioned a set of New Testament plates. Carey quickly realized that the production of multiple copies of plates

⁵ John Carter. “William Ged and the Invention of Stereotype.” *The Library*, Fifth Series XV (3), September 1960: 161-192.

⁶ See George A. Kubler. *A New History of Stereotyping*. New York: J. J. Little & Ives, 1941: 147-159. See also David Paul Nord. *Faith in Reading: Religious Publishing and the Birth of Mass Media in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

to the same book would fundamentally alter the dynamics by which publishers chose to bring certain works to market. By 1840, stereotyping was firmly established as a cost-effective model for many types of works, and a more diverse array of steady-sellers, including novels and some periodicals, were also beginning to be stereotyped. Later in the century, with the advent of high-volume power presses, newspapers would utilize stereotyping to print copies of the same edition of a paper quickly using multiple sets of plates on multiple presses running at the same time. A better understanding of the growth and development of printing with plates also has implications for our understanding of some larger topics in nineteenth-century print culture studies, such as the practice of reprinting, the significance and growth of religious publishing in America, the role of seriality, and our understanding of a transatlantic literary culture relating to the transmission and distribution of texts, one that moves from the United States to Europe as much as it does from Europe to the United States.

Stereotyping brought about a new level of uniformity to output in the publishing industry, as the stereotyped plates of a book, once created and initially printed from, could then be removed to storage and later printed from at will, over many years and through many smaller press runs. Without there being any change to the text itself, stereotyping offered a clear advantage over having to create new settings of type over time for successive editions. The increased initial cost to create a set of plates would, for the right sort of steady-selling item, pay for itself over time and multiple press runs. Bibliographers and textual critics have shown conclusively how books printed during the handpress

period were anything but textually consistent, even from copy to copy.⁷ The adoption of stereotype plates, which themselves were occasionally created in multiple copies, allowed for a greater degree of textual authority. This was at least claimed by publishers bringing out stereotyped titles, though the ways in which this authority was asserted, accepted, and challenged have yet to be fully studied or understood. These topics will frame much of my project, especially with regard to how they can contribute to contemporary debates within the history of the book.

As Babbage noted, to create a stereotype plate for printing, a full-page positive impression of a form of standing type was created in plaster (and later, papier mâché). Liquid metal was then used to fill in the plaster mold and create a single-plate negative impression of the form, a plate with the impression of the full page of type, which was then used for printing. For a larger, busy printing shop with many simultaneous jobs in process, the advantages were clear: as one's type was only used once to make the plate, it could then be distributed immediately for use in other projects instead of leaving it set up for later printing. And as the type used to create the plate was never printed from directly, it would last considerably longer than if it were used for making printed impressions.

Other advantages emerged later. As printing with plates became more widely adopted, publishers only needed to print as many copies of a book as were immediately needed to satisfy market demands, whereas in the past, a printed edition may have taken

⁷ Charlton Hinman's famous study of the Shakespeare folios has shown how both corrected and uncorrected errors somehow made their way into other sheets containing additional, later corrections, making each copy of the First Folio nearly unique, textually. See Charlton Hinman. *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.

several years to sell out before another was needed. If a new impression were needed, an additional press run could be made from the same plates with minimal setup time and effort. Warehousing plates instead of the more fragile (and potentially flammable) unbound sheets of printed books became especially attractive. Larger publishers by mid-century were creating fireproof vaults for their boxed collections of plates.⁸ These sets of plates became objects of capital investment, true material texts where a work to be printed became permanently embodied in a physical form for the first time in printing history. They were commodities that were commissioned and could be bought and sold in a marketplace in ways that the loose type in the cabinets of a print shop's composing room were not.

For steady-selling items such as Bibles, prayer books, schoolbooks, and dictionaries, the advantages for publishers were clear, provided the initial investment to purchase a set of plates could be made. Early on, commissioning a set of stereotypes for a book cost at least twice that of paying for standard textual composition. This limited their adoption, at least initially, to only the largest publishers or to evangelical concerns such as the American Bible Society. Certain printed works of a limited temporal nature such as almanacs, sermons, and shorter, more ephemeral works did not lend themselves naturally to reprinting, and so were mostly still printed from standing type throughout the century. As the implementation of stereotyping in the early to mid-nineteenth century occurred just before a series of technological changes and industrialization began to completely transform the printing trades and publishing industry in the mid-nineteenth century, it both solidified and hastened a transformation in nineteenth-century print

⁸ Jacob Abbot. *The Harper Establishment; Or, How the Story Books Are Made* (1855). Hamden, CT: Shoe String Press, 1956: 43.

culture within other parts of the industry as well.

The self-regulatory “courtesy of the trade” adopted by American printers after independence worked this way: if a publisher announced the publication of a new work publicly, in a newspaper or, later, a trade journal, and then brought it out within a reasonable amount of time, he had essentially claimed a form of copyright over it, and other United States publishers would not bring out the same title, or subsequent editions. Because the quantities of books produced in the United States were still relatively small compared to those imported from Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, printers needed to cooperate with other printers at this time to trade and exchange stock to keep their local audiences supplied with books. Violating the courtesy of the trade risked exclusion from this network of cooperation and exchange and potential business disaster. For works such as Bibles and New Testaments, for which no real courtesy of the trade could be claimed, stereotyping contributed to a substantial amount of multiple textual editions of the works being published around the same time in the marketplace, expanding the quantities of works available to consumers in multiple editions of varying quality and accuracy.

By the 1830s, as the commissioning of stereotype plates for books became increasingly common, the plates themselves became objects of capital investment in ways that standing type was not. A publisher could hire out a set of plates for an edition he did not want to republish to another publisher for a price, or publishers could cooperate with each other on a joint edition using shared plates. Upon death or bankruptcy, the stereotype plates—and the implicit and later explicit copyrights associated with them—represented substantial quantities of capital that could be liquidated, thus beginning a second-hand

marketplace and trade in stereotype plates that took place in bi-annual printers' trade sales and also through direct sale and advertisement in trade journals, as will be discussed later in Chapter 4. Because of the capital investment involved in creating plates and their selective use, the introduction of stereotyping was a primary factor influencing the maturation of the American printing trades from a loose affiliation of almost entirely localized printers at the end of the eighteenth century to the beginnings of a true national publishing industry by the mid-nineteenth century.

EARLY STEREOTYPING EXPERIMENTS

The earliest claims to the invention of modern stereotyping are as unresolved—and almost as mythical—as the origins of printing itself. New research continues to shed light on our understanding of how the first books were printed and published throughout Europe and the Americas. In recent years, the early products of Gutenberg's press have been more closely examined using digital technologies to compare and locate evidence of repeated words or uniform letter combinations longer than individual pieces of set type, suggesting that some form of sand casting or other mold-made impressions of words or letter combinations may have been made at the very beginnings of printing with movable type.⁹ Several more or less successful attempts to cast printing plates from set type were made

⁹ See Kees Gnrirrep. "Standing Type or Stereotype in the Seventeenth Century?" *Quaerendo* 27 (1997): 19-45 and John Dixon. "Between Script and Specie: Cadwallader Colden's Printing Method and the Production of Permanent, Correct Knowledge." *Early American Studies* 8 (1) Winter 2010: 75-93, in addition to Blaise Argüera y Arcas and Paul Needham. "Computational Analytical Bibliography," in David J. Shaw, ed. *Books Beyond Frontiers: The Need for International Collaboration in National Retrospective Bibliography: Papers Presented on 8 November 2002 at the Bibliopolis Conference on*

in Europe in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, each with its own nationalistic tradition: Dutch, Scottish, and English. A number of typefounders created larger blocks of cast letterforms for printing, though none of these experiments were ever successfully adopted for large-scale production. Many histories of printing refer to experiments being done in the low countries in the seventeenth century of set type soldered together on its back to create a heavy, solid block that was printed from, and presumably saved for later use.¹⁰ Recent scholarship has examined early attempts by Dutch printers, especially by the Reverend Johannes Muller in Leiden, to make impressions of type forms.¹¹ Nineteenth-century English and American printing histories and manuals often allude to these Dutch experiments. George Kubler, in his *New History of Stereotyping*, credits Muller and a partner, Van der Mey, with perfecting a process by which forms of set type were immersed into vats of liquid solder, fusing them together into a block. Kubler also mentions parallel efforts by Joseph Athias, an Amsterdam printer, around the same time.¹² J. Leander Bishop, in his *History of American Manufactures*, states that stereotyping was invented by “John Mueller at Leyden in 1690.”¹³ Articles on printing and typefounding in

“*The Future History of the Book*” Hosted by the Kononklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague. London: Consortium of European Research Libraries: 2003.

¹⁰ Gnirrep. “Standing Type or Stereotype.” See also Harry Carter and George Buday. “Stereotyping by Joseph Athias: The Evidence of Nicholas Kris.” *Quaerendo* 5 (4), 1975: 312-320; B. J. McMullin. “Joseph Athias and the Early History of Stereotyping.” *Quaerendo* 23 (3), 1993: 184-207.

¹¹ For sixteenth century experiments, see Douglas C. McMurtrie. *Stereotyping in Bavaria in the Sixteenth Century: A Note on the History of Map Printing Processes and of Printer’s Platemaking*. New York: Privately Printed, 1935; and David Woodward. “Some Evidence for the Use of Stereotyping on Peter Apian’s World Map of 1530.” *Imago Mundi* 24 (1), 1970: 43-48.

¹² Kubler, *New History of Stereotyping*, 39-41.

¹³ J. Leander Bishop. *A History of American Manufactures From 1608 to 1860*. Volume I. Philadelphia: Edward Young & Co., 1868: 212. Many nineteenth-century American industrial histories and printing manuals repeat claims made by the *Encyclopaedia*

young people's magazines, often taking their lead from many of these sources, also pointed to the Dutch experiments as the forerunners of current practice, though an article in *The Family Magazine* also took pains to mention some eighteenth-century American experiments as well, fueling the nationalist fire for claiming precedents in innovation.¹⁴

William Ged, an Edinburgh goldsmith, was successful in creating plates of text suitable for printing by the late 1720s. He secured backing from several London investors in the early 1730s, though he was not able to successfully license or sell his innovation, despite strong interest and trials at the university press at Cambridge.¹⁵ Ged printed an edition of Sallust in 1739 which announced on its title page that it was printed entirely from plates, and he produced two impressions of a second book in plates in 1742.¹⁶ Ged died in 1749, having never successfully established his plate-making business.

The prolific Scottish printer Andrew Foulis partnered with Alexander Tilloch to take out a patent for plate-printing from molds in 1784 and printed several books using the

Britannica and other reference works. See also, for example, William Turner Coggeshall. *Five Black Arts: A Popular Account of the History, Process of Manufacture, and Uses of Printing, Gas-Light, Pottery, Glass, Iron*. Columbus: Follett, Foster and Company, 1861 and *The Author's Printing and Publishing Assistant*. London: Saunders and Otley, 1842.

¹⁴ "Invention of Stereotyping." *The Family Magazine* V, 1838: 384-386.

¹⁵ Carter, "William Ged," 166-168. See also William Ged. *Biographical Memoirs of William Ged: Including A Particular Account of His Progress in the Art of Block-Printing*. London: John Nichols, 1781; Edward Rowe Mores. *A Dissertation Upon English Typographical Founders and Foundries* (1778). Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1961; B. J. McMullin. "The Cambridge Affair: The Ged-Fenner Stereotyping Venture 1731-3." *The Book Collector* 57 (2), Summer 2008: 217-246; and Brian Hillyard. "William Ged and the Invention of Stereotype: Another Postscript." *The Library* 13 (2), June 1991: 156-157.

¹⁶ Sallust. *Belli Catalinarii et Jugurthini historiae*. Edinburgi: Gulielmus Ged non typis mobilibus, 1739. Henry Scougal. *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*. Newcastle: Printed and sold by John White from plates made by William Ged, Edinburgh, 1742. There are two distinct impressions of this work.

process before abandoning it.¹⁷ There is some evidence that Tilloch had once seen one of Ged's old plates being used as a paperweight in the London offices of the publisher John Murray, who had at one point received it as a gift.¹⁸

In the modern era, the French firm of Didot in 1795, "coined the name 'stereotype' for printing from solid lead plates," from which they printed several works in the 1790s.¹⁹ Didot used type made from an unknown new alloy for their stereotyping process, one that was harder than traditional type in order to stand up to the molding process. The set form of type was then used as a punch to impress its letterforms into another, softer lead plate, which formed the matrix. The matrix was then used to cast a metal plate, which was then pried from the matrix by means of a knife. Armand Camus, writing about Didot's work in the 1790s, also described a method used by the firm in 1798 in which copper forms were made from a new plate, with the mold made from hardened earth or clay, but which produced a lesser result than the metal stamping method.²⁰

Most Anglophone histories of printing point to Charles Mahon, the Third Earl of Stanhope, instead of Didot as the modern perfecter of stereotyping, though Didot succeeded in bringing stereotyped books to market a decade earlier, beginning in the mid-1790s. While Didot's method was known in England, Lord Stanhope, in addition to inventing the modern iron printing press, succeeded in perfecting his own stereotyping process using plaster casts of type instead of lead plates. At one point in his experiments,

¹⁷ Carter, "William Ged," 162. See also Armand G. Camus. *Histoire et procédés du polytypage et de la stéréotypie*. Paris: Baudouin, l'an X [1801].

¹⁸ Thomas Hartwell Horne. *An Introduction to the Study of Bibliography*. Volume II. London: G. Woodfall, for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1814: 744.

¹⁹ Kubler, *New History of Stereotyping*, 23.

²⁰ As quoted in C. F. Partington. *The Printer's Complete Guide*. London: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, 1825: 281.

he made the acquaintance of Alexander Tilloch and was able to carry Tilloch's and Foulis's experiments further, producing plaster molds of set type from which he was able to cast usable plates. By 1802, Stanhope had worked out the difficulties of plaster casting and was able to claim that his method of English stereotyping was able to be adopted

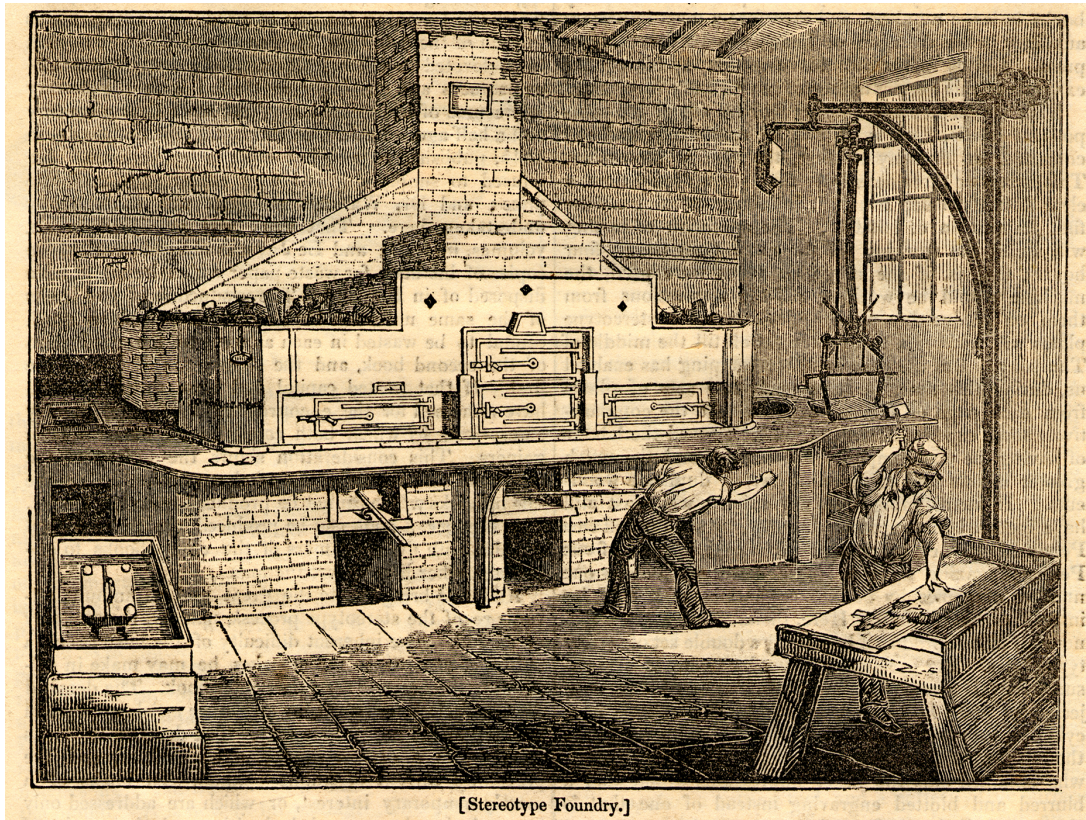


Figure 1.1 Stereotype foundry, showing the breaking off of plaster from a newly-cast plate.²¹

by industry in volume. Preferring it to Didot's version, Partington's *Printer's Complete Guide* stated that "Stanhope's stereotype plate is, therefore, nothing more than a fac-

²¹ "The Commercial History of a Penny Magazine. – No. III. Compositors' Work and Stereotyping." *Monthly Supplement of The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* 107 (October 31 to November 30, 1833): 465-472 (cited 472). Author's own copy.

simile of the page from which it was taken.”²² At the beginning of the nineteenth century, these two nationalist traditions of stereotype invention (and mythologizing) were widely known and reported on in newspaper accounts throughout Europe and the Americas. In both countries, however, stereotyping remained a small, niche process within the printing trades that was not quickly or universally adopted due to its high cost and complex skill set. In the United States, stereotyping, once introduced, would be more widely adopted and at a more rapid rate.

Stanhope’s stereotype process was used to print books in London in the first decade of the nineteenth century, though today he is better remembered for his improvements to the mechanics of the iron printing press. There is some evidence that Stanhope attempted to license his inventions to Americans during this time, meeting and corresponding extensively with American papermaker Joshua Gilpin, though by 1806 Gilpin’s interests and business efforts were directed elsewhere.²³ In perfecting his process, Stanhope partnered for several years with a master printer, Andrew Wilson, to bring his experiments to fruition. Wilson would later go on to run his own print shop and employ stereotyping.²⁴

Some experiments also took place in colonial America and the new republic to “fix” the text of printed works by making impressions of set type. Almost inevitably when looking at colonial American printing, one documented attempt involves experiments made by Benjamin Franklin, who corresponded extensively in the 1740s with the later governor of New York, Cadwallader Colden, about methods for fixing set type into

²² Partington, *Printer’s Complete Guide*, 282.

²³ John Bidwell. “Joshua Gilpin and Lord Stanhope’s Improvements in Printing.” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 76 (2) 1982: 143-158.

²⁴ Michael L. Turner. “Andrew Wilson: Lord Stanhope’s Stereotype Printer: A Preliminary Report.” *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 9 (1973-74): 22-65.

blocks.²⁵ Later experiments by Franklin's nephew Benjamin Mecom suggest that, while working in Philadelphia in 1775, Mecom was able to successfully cast plates for several pages of a New Testament but did not finish the complete book.²⁶

Isaiah Thomas mentions stereotyping in his *History of Printing in America*, which he published in 1810 after a decade of research and compilation. Thomas's history is an extensive, evidenced-based chronology to which he made considerable efforts to gather and verify his source material. Though no one was casting stereotype plates in the United States at his writing, Thomas and others in America were aware of British and French books printed using the new process. For Thomas, it was not strange that a new method for reinventing what seemed to be an already perfected method of artistry had come about. Thomas cited the evidence that a Dutch printer in Leyden, J. Van der Mey, had been successfully experimenting with creating plates in the late seventeenth century, long before Didot brought out editions in the 1790s, and extensively quoted an article that summarized the work of those Leyden printers.²⁷

Later in life, Thomas revised his history with the aim of bringing out an updated edition but did not live to see it in print. The second, revised edition of *The History of Printing in America* was published, from his notes and emendations, only in 1874. In it, Thomas shortened his descriptions of casting stereotype plates, eliminating its European origins and, as it was now a common practice in America amongst larger publishers when he was making his revisions, focused instead on its American antecedents. Thomas

²⁵ Dixon, "Between Script and Specie," 75-93.

²⁶ John W. Moore. *Moore's Historical, Biographical, and Miscellaneous Gatherings, in the Form of Disconnected Notes Relative to Printers, Printing, Publishing and Editing....* Concord, N.H.: Republican Press Association, 1886: 75.

²⁷ Isaiah Thomas. *The History of Printing in America*. Volume I. Worcester: Isaiah Thomas, 1810: 165.

mentioned Benjamin Mecom's attempts to create stereotypes about the year 1775, casting several pages of a New Testament but not completing the work. Thomas summarized his post-1810 revisions to the original text succinctly: "Stereotyping is now very common in the United States, and is well executed."²⁸ Thomas also cited the evidence that Cadwallader Colden had corresponded with Benjamin Franklin in the 1740s on ways to fix a form of moveable type in order to make impressions from it.²⁹ Thomas further mentioned the work of Jacob Perkins of Newburyport, Massachusetts, who created a new method for stereotyping bank notes to prevent counterfeiting or forgery. Perkins's experiments, which employed a slightly different form of stereotyping, took place in the first decade of the nineteenth century but did not have a significant impact on the printing trades.

DOCUMENTING THE NEW TECHNOLOGY

While Didot's stereotype process used lead plates together with type to form a matrix, the English method of plaster casting was learned by more Americans and was the one ultimately adopted in the United States. Each step of the Anglo-American stereotype process, while initially proprietary, had been well-documented since the 1810s and could be found in many printer's manuals and descriptions of typefounding.³⁰

²⁸ Isaiah Thomas. *The History of Printing in America, with a Biography of Printers*. Second edition, with the author's corrections and additions (1874). New York: Burt Franklin, 1967: 32.

²⁹ Thomas cites their correspondence, which was published as "New Method of Printing," *American Medical and Philosophical Register; Or, Annals of Medicine, Natural History, Agriculture, and the Arts* I, 1810: 439-446. See also Dixon on Colden.

³⁰ See Winship, "Printing With Plates" and Philip Gaskell. *A New Introduction to Bibliography*. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1995: 201-206.

Anglophone printer's manuals on both sides of the Atlantic described and privileged the Stanhope plaster of Paris (wet plate) method. The first to appear, a short work of 60 pages titled *The Method of Founding Stereotype, as Practiced by Charles Brightly* was printed for Brightly in the small market town of Bungay, Suffolk, in the summer of 1809.³¹ In his work, Brightly described his own process, a slight variation of Stanhope's plaster of Paris method, in sufficient detail for it to be replicated by a competent typefounder. As a working printer, Brightly also provided commentary on the nature of the initial types used for composition and casting, and their heights and hardness in particular, from which a suitable impression could be taken. Illustrations complemented the text, making Brightly's pamphlet an extremely useful description of a hitherto proprietary technology. In its final pages, he answered and corrected a defense of stereotyping made by Alexander Wilson, Lord Stanhope's printer, in a May 1807 article in the *Monthly Magazine*, in particular one assertion of Wilson's that stereotyping would save the reading public between 25 to 40 percent of the price of a common book when stereotyping was employed to print it.³² Brightly took Wilson to task by showing how the savings of stereotyping could be made if the right works were chosen, but only for the printer or publisher, and not realized until multiple editions or reprintings were made over time, in most cases years in the future for a standard edition that went through four or more reprintings from the same set of plates. His argument, he stated, was not made to dissuade

³¹ Charles Brightly. *The Method of Founding Stereotype, as Practiced by Charles Brightly of Bungay, Suffolk*. Bungay: Printed by C. Brightly, for R. Phillips, Bridge-Street, London: 1809.

³² Brightly, *Method of Founding Stereotype*, 41-60.

other publishers from using the new technology, but merely to counter Wilson's too-optimistic assertions as it was practiced at present in its imperfect state.³³

Brightly predicted innovations that would improve consistency in creating plates so that production costs would become as low as printing from set type. Also, the loss of paper, which was still the most expensive part of book production, would be minimized with corrected, consistent sets of plates. Brightly had no direct connection to Wilson or Stanhope, so how he learned the process sufficient to practice it at this level is still unknown. Other printers in his circle had some connections to the university press in Cambridge, not far away, so Brightly may have had some exposure to the process in Cambridge as Wilson and Stanhope attempted to interest the university press in their

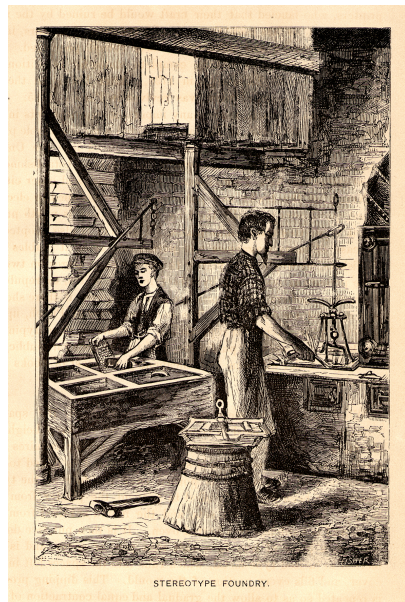


Figure 1.2 Stereotype foundry, showing casting and cleaning newly-cast plates.³⁴

³³ "Literary and Philosophical Intelligence." *Monthly Magazine* (London) 156, 1 May 1807: 372-373. Wilson's letter to the *Monthly Magazine* was itself a rebuttal to an assertion made the previous month in an unsigned article in the magazine that concluded that the reason stereotyping was not already widely adopted was that only 20-30 works in England could justify the expense of being stereotyped. See "Varieties, Literary and Philosophical." *Monthly Magazine* (London) 155, 1 April 1807: 264.

experiments earlier in the decade.³⁵ As the first true exposition of how the new process worked, copies of this pamphlet would have been known and in demand by publishers and typefounders in Britain and the United States.

Thomas Hodgson's *Essay On the Origin and Progress of Stereotype Printing* was printed in Newcastle in 1820 in a modest edition of 306 copies under the patronage of the Newcastle Typographical Society.³⁶ Hodgson and his brother worked in the family's printing firm. Hodgson greatly acknowledged the work of Armand Gaston Camus, whose 1801 *Histoire et procédés du polytypage et de la stéréotypie* was first published in the *Mémoires de l'Institut*. At his writing, Hodgson noted that there were twelve establishments in London making stereotype plates. Together with a few known foundries elsewhere in the United Kingdom at this time, it is not therefore surprising to learn that at the 1821 fire that destroyed the Caxton printing office in Liverpool, it was reported that the firm already held some "ten thousand pages of stereotype plates."³⁷

Hodgson dedicated his work to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle, of which he was a member. Less a technical manual than a compiler's history, the work is notable for his acknowledging the assistance of Alexander Tilloch and Alexander Wilson in the writing of his account, two of the men who were responsible for

³⁴ "Stereotyping and Electrotyping." In *The Great Industries of the United States, Being an Historical Summary of the Origin, Growth, and Perfection of the Chief Industrial Arts of This Country*. Hartford: J. B. Burr & Hyde; Chicago: J. B. Burr, Hyde & Co., 1874: 177. Image courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, Furman University Library.

³⁵ Michael L. Turner. "Introduction" to Charles Brightly. *The Method of Founding Stereotype* and Thomas Hodgson. *An Essay on the Origin and Progress of Stereotype Printing*. New York: Garland, 1982: xiii-xiv.

³⁶ Thomas Hodgson. *An Essay On the Origin and Progress of Stereotype Printing; Including a Description of the Various Processes*. Newcastle: S. Hodgson, 1820. Michael L. Turner. "Introduction," in Brightly, *The Method of Founding Stereotype*, vii.

³⁷ Charles Henry Timperley. *Encyclopaedia of Literary and Typographical Anecdote*. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1842: 879.

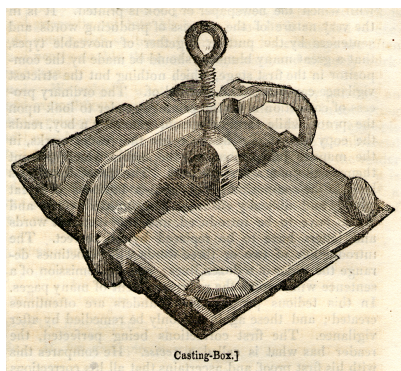


Figure 1.3 Casting box for making a plate.³⁸

making the first successful English experiments along with Lord Stanhope. Also of interest in this work is his acknowledgement and account of an American innovation in stereotyping that made its way to Britain in 1819, the process of “polytyping” engraved plates, known as siderography, which was developed in Massachusetts by Jacob Perkins.³⁹

The first printer’s manual of any sort to appear in America was *The Printer’s Guide*, published in New York by Cornelius Van Winkle in 1818. As printing historian Rollo Silver has written, “For the first time American printers had their own manual with descriptions of American presses, specimens of American typefounders, price lists for printing, and information on supplies.” Some parts were taken almost directly from English manuals, but “it was prepared by an American printer for the use of American printers” for the first time.⁴⁰ *The Printer’s Guide* also included a printer’s supply company advertisement following its main text that noted “stereotype blocks to order” in

³⁸ “The Commercial History of a Penny Magazine. – No. III. Compositors’ Work and Stereotyping.” *Monthly Supplement of The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* 107 (October 31 to November 30, 1833): 465-472 (cited 470). Author’s own copy.

³⁹ Hodgson, *Origin and Progress*, 150-154.

⁴⁰ Rollo Silver. *The American Printer 1787-1825*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967: 96.

its list of materials that could be supplied to shops.⁴¹ It contained a type specimen catalog for the firm of E. White of New York that included a five-page series of illustrations titled “Stereotype From Wood-cuts,” all stock images that originated in wood and were transferred uniformly to metal by stereotyping. This shift, in allowing all sorts of uniform illustrations and decorations to be copied from castings, was new. No longer limited by size in being able to acquire a standard illustration in cast type, a large woodcut could now be copied uniformly in metal in as many copies as were needed, to order.



Figure 1.4 Moulding frame for making a plaster impression of type.⁴²

Van Winkle’s work went through several editions, but the first description of stereotyping only appears in the third edition, published in 1835. Following a summary of the history of printing, stereotyping is noted in a historical note before descriptions of the

⁴¹ Cornelius Van Winkle. *The Printer’s Guide; Or, an Introduction to the Art of Printing*. New York: Printed and Published for C. S. Van Winkle, 1818: 228.

⁴² “The Commercial History of a Penny Magazine. – No. III. Compositors’ Work and Stereotyping.” *Monthly Supplement of The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* 107 (October 31 to November 30, 1833): 465-472 (cited 470). Author’s own copy.

minutiae of composition, imposition, and presswork. Van Winkle's text references a *London Magazine* article on Dutch perfections of a new printing process similar to stereotyping and mentions Ged, Didot, and Stanhope. In its discussion of Stanhope's work, Alexander Wilson is quoted as saying, "the various processes of the stereotype art had been so admirably contrived, as to combine the most beautiful simplicity, with the most desirable economy—the *ne plus ultra* of perfection, with that of neatness."⁴³

While many of its early practitioners were quick to comment on the advantages of stereotyping as a technological advance, not all printers or critics were as favorably disposed to the new process and its potential. In addition to its quick dismissal of the new technology in the April 1807 British *Monthly Magazine*, publisher and printing historian T.C. Hansard, in his massive compilation *Typographia*, wrote in 1825 that,

no printer should stereotype who wishes his type to be a credit to his house: the wear of the material in casting is miserable, the gypsum is at best a fine powder, and grinds away the edge and face of the letter when rubbed in with a brush, in a frightful manner. The letter can never be entirely freed from the plaster and will present a very dirty appearance ever after.⁴⁴

In *Typographia*'s extensive discussion of stereotyping, Hansard quotes at length from Alexander Wilson's May 1807 article in the *Monthly Magazine* where he systematically described the advantages of stereotyping for cost-effectiveness, efficiency, and uniformness of output. Hansard then dismisses Wilson's arguments point by point from the perspective of a publisher who had stereotyped many works and could accurately report on how they worked in practice. Hansard argued that Wilson's positive advantages were either completely inaccurate or showed them to be considerable exaggerations. Hansard's

⁴³ C. S. Van Winkle. *The Printer's Guide; Or, An Introduction to the Art of Printing*. 3rd Edition, with Additions and Alterations. New York: White & Hagar, 1835: 26-27.

⁴⁴ Quoted in George A. Kubler. *The Era of Charles Mahon, Third Earl of Stanhope, Stereotyper: 1750-1825*. New York: Privately Printed, 1938: 117-118.

main objections are two: that stereotyped works would always be more cost-effective in the long term, and from the mechanical aspect that the final impressions made are always excellent and the wear on the types in making the plates is not substantial. The plates themselves, as expensive objects, would be printed from time and again, so much so that they will wear down considerably before they are discarded, with each subsequent impression from them looking worse than the previous one for old plates. A printer working from type would therefore necessarily be producing better-looking reprints as his type would be systematically refreshed over the years as it gradually wore out. The process of stereotyping would therefore serve to cheapen the quality and appearance of certain types of reprinted works to a level that was untenable for Hansard.

Nevertheless, and despite all these objections, Hansard wrote, “stereotyping is much used, and very advantageously, for Primers, Spelling-books, Religious Tracts, and other works requiring no variation of editions, or great excellence of execution.”⁴⁵

Correcting a plate that had an error on it was a more involved process than simply replacing a piece of movable type in a form after proofing, but corrections became a part of the workflow of the stereotype foundry. To correct a plate that was found defective, a piece of movable type was cut down to size and inserted into the plate at the correct thickness to make the correction (see Appendix C). “Such is its accuracy,” claims Partington, “that plates may be cast from copper-plates as perfect as the engraving itself. Woodcuts and ornaments of every kind may be cast in the same manner.”⁴⁶

⁴⁵ T. C. Hansard. *Typographia: An Historical Sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Art of Printing*....London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1825: 825.

⁴⁶ Partington, *Printer's Complete Guide*, 284.

Fears that the wider adoption of stereotyping would limit the number of compositors in the printing trades for lack of work were quick to come into these debates. As most of the first printing manuals' authors were printers themselves trained in the apprentice system, it is not surprising that the introduction of stereotyping was a potential threat to an entire artisan- and apprentice-based profession. John Johnson, a printer and printing historian, in his book titled *Typographia*, from 1824, is equally skeptical and dismissive of the benefits of this new technology,

When we reflect, that so many of our brethren who well deserve (from their ability) a comfortable subsistence, and who ought to be enabled (from their profession,) to move in a respectable sphere of life, are now, through this process, reduced to a very humble pittance, thereby bringing the first Art in the world down to a level with the lowest; and, at one season of the year, nearly one half of the valuable body of men alluded to may be considered as totally destitute of employ, on account of the standard works, which was the summer's stock work, having been Stereotyped.⁴⁷

By the 1820s, the number of publications actively debating the nuances of this technological process shows that changes were beginning to occur in the printing trades. The “black art” passed down to apprentices in the old artisan tradition was about to break down as new technologies and labor practices were to have extensive effects on the makeup of the trades. What was once a set of trade secrets passed down from masters to apprentices and not written about—the mechanics and artisanship of printing—was now openly debated, in print, down to the smallest level of detail in assessing the value and nuances in improving this potentially transformative new technology and other experimental printing innovations.

⁴⁷ J. Johnson. *Typographia, Or the Printers' Instructor*....Volume II. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1824: 657. The first American edition of Johnson, a one-volume abridgement published four years later, did not include his chapter on stereotyping. See J. Johnson. *An Abridgement of Johnson's Typographia, Or the Printers' Instructor*. Boston: C.L. Adams, 1828.

In the United States, commentators on this rapidly-spreading technology were more uniformly positive. In a series of lectures given in 1829, Harvard professor Jacob Bigelow described the stereotyping process in detail and then concluded,

Stereotype printing is chiefly useful for standard and classical works, for which there is a regular demand, and of which the successive editions require no alteration. It is now executed with such increased economy, as to be applicable to works of even less durability.⁴⁸

A children's book about various trades published in Philadelphia in 1837 devotes one page to the stereotyper and describes the process of making a plate from set type together with a brief history of the practice. It concludes with a note on Stanhope and Wilson's final innovations in 1804 and the strenuous opposition with which this new technology was met by printers, saying "the printers supposing, perhaps with some reason, that it would prove injurious to their business."⁴⁹

By the 1840s, the early trade secrets and techniques of stereotyping from a generation prior were uniformly known and commonly practiced throughout the printing trades. Printer's manuals and trade surveys accurately described the rudiments of the process with a great degree of accuracy, and stereotyping became part of the business model for larger-scale book publishers. By mid-century, attention also turned toward electrotyping, stereotyping's refined successor process, which especially allowed for the detailed copying of images and larger engravings. Newspapers, who now operated power presses and were concerned with issues of volume and speed in production, began to

⁴⁸ Jacob Bigelow. *Elements of Technology, Taken Chiefly from a Course of Lectures Delivered at Cambridge, on the Application of the Sciences to the Useful Arts*. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1829: 67.

⁴⁹ Edward Hazen. *The Panorama of Professions and Trades; or Every Man's Book*. Philadelphia: Uriah Hunt, 1837: 188.



Figure 1.5 Stereotype block for raising a plate to type-height, ca. 1895.⁵⁰

experiment creating curved plates to fit onto large cylinder presses. Multiple plates of the same newspaper page could be created and printed from simultaneously on multiple presses, doubling or tripling output to rapidly get the news out. As one survey of American industrial progress noted, “Plates for use upon the cylinders of printing machines are made with the curve of the cylinders, the forms themselves in which the type are paged having a convex surface, which gives them the name of “turtles.”⁵¹ Electrotyping began to be used commercially as early as 1850, and by 1860 most

⁵⁰ New York: F. Wesel Manufacturing Co., ca. 1895. Author’s own collection.

⁵¹ Charles L. Flint et al. *Eighty Years’ Progress of the United States: Showing the Various Channels of Industry and Education....*New York: L. Stebbins, 1861: 300-301.

stereotype establishments had added an electrotype plant for certain types of output.⁵²

Book production remained an important part of the stereotyping business throughout the nineteenth century, but the massive growth of daily newspapers and weekly news magazines by mid-century allowed stereotyping to flourish as the best solution for high-volume, high-speed applications.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND SPREAD OF STEREOTYPING IN THE UNITED STATES

An 1811 advertisement in the *Long-Island Star* announced that a pressmaker named Francis Shield, recently arrived from London and living in New York, “is also in possession of the art of making *Stereotype plates*, and has specimens in his possession.”⁵³ Shield had built Stanhope presses in London prior to his arrival in North America, and presumably had some knowledge of the Stanhope stereotyping process, which had not yet been implemented in the United States. John Bidwell believes that it was Shield, along with John Watts, who would later cast the first set of stereotype plates in America in 1813, both men having had earlier associations with Lord Stanhope, where they learned at least part of the secret process.⁵⁴ No books bearing Shield’s name as stereotype founder have come to light, and it is unlikely his announcement brought him any successfully-realized stereotyping work from New York printers or publishers.

⁵² *American Dictionary of Bookmaking and Printing*. New York: Howard Lockwood & Co., 1894: 527.

⁵³ Silver, *American Printer*, 59. See also *Long-Island Star*, 23 October, 1811.

⁵⁴ Bidwell, “Joshua Gilpin,” 155; Silver, *American Printer*, 59-61; Rollo Silver. *Typefounding in America 1787-1825*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1965: 76-82.

Printing historian Rollo Silver argued that by 1811, at least three other people in the United States were interested in stereotyping and beginning to experiment with it: David Bruce, a typefounder from New York, who went to England in an attempt to learn the process; John Watts, whose brother was one of Lord Stanhope's first pupils, who had come to New York late in the first decade of the nineteenth century and would later succeed in casting plates; and S. W. Johnson, a Baltimore founder, who advertised lessons in stereotype founding.⁵⁵ Johnson does not appear in any printer's listings or Baltimore city directories. His biography and training, and the outcome of his advertisement in the *Baltimore American*, are not known. The first known stereotyped book published in Baltimore appeared only in 1818. In addition to Bruce, Watts, and Johnson, Mathew Carey in Philadelphia (as will be shown in Chapter 2) received a first-hand account of stereotyping several years before it was actively practiced in the United States. Isaiah Thomas in Worcester, as has already been shown, was also keeping abreast of the latest English and Continental innovations within the printing trades at this time.

The first American book printed with stereotype plates was a small but complete octavo Bible published in 1812 in Philadelphia by the Philadelphia Bible Society.⁵⁶ The Society commissioned and received a set of plates, at significant expense, from a London typefounder in October, just after the outbreak of war with Britain. The Philadelphia Bible Society purchased additional sets of stereotype plates from the same foundry in 1816, but at this early date chose not risk commissioning a set domestically.

⁵⁵ Silver, *American Printer*, 60. Rollo Silver. *The Baltimore Book Trade, 1800-1825*. New York: The New York Public Library, 1953: 10. The advertisement appeared in the *Baltimore American*, 6 May, 1812: 3.

⁵⁶ *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised*. Philadelphia: Stereotyped for the Bible Society by T. Rutt, Shacklewell, London, 1812.

John Watts, the first successful stereotyper in America, is said by Kubler to have trained in London and spoken French, and his stereotyping process was a combination of the Stanhope and Didot processes. Watts came to America in 1809 and produced his first commissioned set of plates, to the Westminster *Larger Catechism*, which was published in June 1813 by the firm of Whiting & Watson for the New-York Religious Tract Society. He only next appears in 1815, having cast several sets of plates to Lindley Murray's *English Grammar* for the typefounding and printing firm of Collins & Co., which they subsequently sold to Matthew Carey, keeping one set for themselves and publishing an edition from it, and selling an additional set to a Poughkeepsie publisher, Stockholm & Brownejohn. Watts then apparently sold his business to the Collins brothers, Quaker printers from New Jersey who had set up their business in New York, and then moved to Austria, where he next appeared in the record in 1820.⁵⁷

After the War of 1812, as printers began to accumulate capital again, a number of firms began to selectively invest in stereotype plates:

The bookseller had more customers, and he was not obliged to pay for setting the type anew for each edition. So books were cheapened, and purchasers increased, making the publishing business more steady as well as more profitable, and enabling some publishers to realize competencies and fortunes.⁵⁸

The firm of David & George Bruce is the most widely-recognized in histories of the trade as being the foremost typefounders and printers in New York at this time. Yet, looking at titles produced, the competing firm of Collins and Co. had a much wider reach, selling or

⁵⁷ Kubler, *New History of Stereotyping*, 148-149. *The American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking* also notes that Watts left New York in 1816 for Vienna and set up the first Austrian stereotype foundry (527). See also Silver, *American Printer*, 60. Silver concludes that the Bruces were too formidable as competition, so Watts chose to sell out to Collins, their greatest competitor.

⁵⁸ Bishop, *History of American Manufactures*, 643.

distributing their stereotype plates up and down the East Coast, from Boston and Albany to Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Georgetown, South Carolina. The Bruces and Collins & Co. both shared in lucrative Bible Society commissions, producing both plates and printed editions for several societies, though the Bruces' markets were primarily limited to Boston and Philadelphia.

In the early nineteenth century, New York had not yet taken over from other cities as the center of the printing trades and publishing industry in the United States, and so regionalism in the trade still existed. While the vast majority of stereotype foundries were in New York, one early adopter, J. F. and C. Starr, were making plates in Hartford as early as 1815 and supplying printers in New York state and New England. Later, Charles Starr moved his operation down to New York City, where he and several of his brothers operated printing, typefounding, and stereotype businesses.

Rollo Silver argued that the introduction to stereotyping in America started “a touch of speculative fever” for innovation in the trade.⁵⁹ In Connecticut in 1813, a group that included Eli Whitney, the printers Hudson & Goodwin, and the Yale chemist Benjamin Silliman incorporated The Stereotype Company for “the purpose of manufacturing stereotype plates and other plates and types, and of printing and vending literary works maps and charts.”⁶⁰ Their operation was not to begin until \$100,000 was raised. William Charvat noted that a similar venture was incorporated in Connecticut two years later with starting capital of \$150,000, an incredible sum, though both operations

⁵⁹ Silver, *American Printer*, 60.

⁶⁰ Silver, *American Printer*, 60.

never advanced to the manufacturing stage.⁶¹ Clearly, interest in the new technology was building, along with some investment capital from people who saw its advantages. Hudson & Goodwin, a large firm in Hartford, kept up their interest in the new technology as well and were printing from plates made by other founders later in the 1810s.

Boston and Philadelphia, the older, more established centers of printing in the United States, seem to have been more resistant to using stereotype plates, at least at first. Only a few titles printed with plates were published in Philadelphia and Boston prior to 1820 (see Appendix B). Greater numbers of stereotyped editions came from smaller publishers experimenting with investments in the new technology in cities such as Hartford, Albany, Baltimore, and Brattleboro, where the plates printed from were nearly all made by New York typefounders.

Among the titles chosen to be made into plates, most took the form of steady-sellers that would justify the substantial initial cost of producing them: Bibles and New Testaments, Books of Common Prayer, dictionaries and schoolbooks such as the bestselling Lindley Murray's *English Grammar*. Among this early group of titles printed from plates were some idiosyncratic choices. The Starrs in New York stereotyped several small children's books for the Hartford printers Sheldon & Goodrich in 1815. Sheldon & Goodrich published new impressions of these works from the same plates, but with new title pages, every few years into the 1820s. More surprising was a guide to hairdressing in English and French titled *The Complete Coiffeur*, with added poems and songs, that was stereotyped and published in 1817, and apparently reissued under different publishers.

⁶¹ William Charvat. *Literary Publishing in America 1790-1850*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993: 19, 84 (n. 7).

What became of its plates, or was it even stereotyped at all?⁶² The work was advertised as having been published by Van Winkle & Wiley in the *New-York Columbian*, though New York printer Cornelius Van Winkle seems not to have commissioned another stereotyped work in the 1810s.⁶³

The earliest stereotypers and typefounders in the United States all had many close interconnections. George B. Lothian, for example, was the son of a Scottish type founder who moved to the United States to set up a typefounding business, which failed in 1810. The younger Lothian then worked for John Watts for several years in New York, where he presumably learned about stereotyping, and then moved on to the New York stereotyping firm of Collins & Hannay (a related branch of Collins & Co.) for two years before striking out for Pittsburgh to establish his own type foundry. It was not successful, so Lothian returned to New York and then worked for D. & G. Bruce. All this occurred during several years in the 1810s.⁶⁴

Lawrence Johnson, the Philadelphia typefounder, was born in England in 1801, and began his career with the firm of John Childs & Son in Bungay, the same small market town where Charles Brightly was experimenting with stereotyping. He emigrated to America in 1819 after completing the term of his apprenticeship and found work in New York with B. & J. Collins, who were one of the two principal stereotyping firms in New York at the time. In 1833, he bought, along with his partner George Smith, the long-

⁶² John B. M. D. LaFoy. *The Complete Coiffeur; Or, an Essay on the Art of Adorning Natural, and of Creating Artificial, Beauty*. New York: Stereotyped for the Proprietors, and Sold by all the Principal Booksellers, 1817.

⁶³ "The Complete Coiffeur," *New-York Columbian*, 1 May 1817: 3.

⁶⁴ *American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking*, 351.

established Philadelphia type foundry of Binney & Ronaldson, the primary American foundry in the early republic.⁶⁵

The quick adoption of stereotyping in the United States, in contrast to Great Britain, was the subject of notice. As one English traveler to New York noted in 1817, “Stereotyping is practiced: Messrs. ----- are now engaged upon a work larger than any which has ever been stereotyped in England.”⁶⁶ Upfront costs remained substantial, often reaching twice the price of standard type composition, though as the industry expanded, prices fell considerably. By 1894, creating a stereotype plate only cost on average 30% more upfront.⁶⁷ For larger works with considerable reprinting potential, stereotyping was an immediately popular option. Silver writes,

By 1825 the stereotypers of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston were supplying printers with popular texts which could be published in each city simultaneously without the labor of composition or the expense of standing type.⁶⁸

Silver concludes, “Thus, as the first quarter of the nineteenth century ended, the American printer was becoming familiar with iron presses, stereotyping, lithography, and the use of power. These were ingredients of the industrial revolution in printing.”⁶⁹ The practice grew steadily, with foundries appearing primarily in the major cities and being centered there for much of the nineteenth century. Typefounders had the most direct experience to add stereotyping to their list of services, and many did. Silver writes, “The promising new process immediately attracted the attention of all typefounders, some of

⁶⁵ *American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking*, 313.

⁶⁶ Henry Bradshaw Fearon. *Sketches of America: A Narrative of a Journey of Five Thousand Miles Through the Eastern and Western States of America*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1819: 37.

⁶⁷ *American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking*, 526.

⁶⁸ Silver, *American Printer*, 61.

⁶⁹ Silver, *American Printer*, 62.

whom added stereotyping to their techniques.”⁷⁰ *The American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking* described the spread of stereotyping,

By 1820 the number of stereotypers in New York had increased to five, and by 1830 to eight or nine....Plates were made for books and for advertisements freely in the year 1840, but even in 1855 little was done in stereotyping in small towns. There were no foundries, for instance, in Syracuse, Troy or Utica before the war, and only one in Rochester.⁷¹

In part because of its natural deep water harbor, New York City surpassed Philadelphia in population for the first time at the 1820 census. Commerce and manufacturing were centering in and around New York, and the opening of the Erie Canal later that decade connecting New York and Albany with Buffalo and the Great Lakes only further secured New York’s position as the engine and center of American manufactures and commerce. The printing trades in New York in the 1820s and 1830s were larger than in Boston and slightly larger than in Philadelphia, but by 1840, New York was the center of American printing and publishing.

Because of the cotton trade, New York also became the center for European goods to arrive and be distributed throughout the United States. It was also the center of the shipping trade to the American South. New York (and hence European) goods, in turn, supplied the Southern states in greater quantities than any other Northern port city, and New York-printed books likewise found ready places in Southern bookstores. The printing trades consolidated in New York City in part because of these distribution networks. Because of the nature of commercial or job printing, customers needed close contact with their printers. The periodical and newspaper press that jobbed its work out likewise needed print shops close to the centers of commerce and activity, so urban print

⁷⁰ Silver, *Typefounding in America*, 51.

⁷¹ *American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking*, 527.

shops in New York flourished in the nineteenth century. Because of the design of print shops, whose basic organization had not changed significantly since the fifteenth century, printing presses could be located within urban workshops, and type and stereotype foundries were similarly constructed within urban centers. Where clothing mills and other large manufactures needed huge spaces and water power to do their work, even new innovations like steam-powered printing could take place within a relatively modest urban footprint. Boilers were located within New York basements and sub-basements to power the new, larger steam presses required for large-scale book and newspaper production in the 1840s.

Single-page plates made from set type for book printing were only one part of a typefounder's potential output from the new stereotyping trade. Adoniram Chandler, listed as a typefounder in the 1820 New York city directory, appeared in subsequent years as a stereotype founder. His first specimen book, also from 1820, contained more ornaments and decorated rules than it did type.⁷² His second book, *Specimen of Ornamental Type and Printing Ornaments*, from 1822, includes a notice that "The ornamental types exhibited in this specimen are cast in stereotype plates, and the letters separately fixed to wooden bottoms. A great quantity of this kind of job type has been in use for three years past, and those who have tried it, speak decidedly in its favour."⁷³ This display or headline type, where each letter was fixed to wood, sold at 18 cents per letter, which Chandler stated was much cheaper than purchasing full lead type metal at 42 cents per pound, and would last just as long.

⁷² Adoniram Chandler. *Specimen of Ornamental Types and Embellishments, Cast at the Foundry of A. Chandler & Co.* New York: n.p., 1820.

⁷³ Quoted in Silver, *Typefounding in America*, 51. See also Chandler, *Specimen of Ornamental Types*, 1822.

Chandler's 1822 specimen book also offers this argument for stereotyping:

The principal objections which have been urged against stereotype plates are the inequality of their thickness, unevenness of their surface, &c. and the consequent difficulty of obtaining a fair impression from them. The subscriber, having spared no pains in obtaining a knowledge of, and adopting the best practical operations in this business, together with essential improvements, which some years' experience has suggested, feels justified in assuring those whom it may concern, that the plates cast at his foundry are not surpassed by those from any other foundry either in Europe or America. Works of several hundred pages, on small type, have been put to press with as little difficulty, as respects *overlaying* and register, as the same work would require if done on separate type.⁷⁴

With stereotyping's increased adoption among urban printers and publishers, proper warehousing to protect these new investments was now necessary. Housing growing numbers of plates became a serious business that had implications for a publisher's survival if disaster struck. Reporting on the Harper and Brothers fire of December 1853 that destroyed their entire print shop, *Norton's Literary Gazette* said, "Their stereotype plates were nearly all preserved, and a week had hardly elapsed before the best presses from Boston to Cincinnati were in motion to renew their vast stock of books."⁷⁵ Immediately after the fire, plates for commissioned works were taken from Harper's New York vaults to several job printers so printing from them could be resumed without interruption. The January issue of *Harper's Magazine* was rewritten and published without any delay. In all, Harpers estimated it lost \$1.15 million in the fire (\$800,000 of which was taken up by the value of printed stock), but its single largest surviving asset was its collection of stereotype plates, which it valued at \$400,000. To raise some ready cash, Harper sold Hartford poet Lydia Sigourney the plates to four of her works for \$1,000.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Quoted in Silver, *Typefounding in America*, 52.

⁷⁵ *Norton's Literary Gazette*. 1 April 1854:166.

⁷⁶ Eugene Exman. *The Brothers Harper: A Unique Partnership and its Impact on the Cultural Life of America from 1817 to 1853*. New York: Harper & Row, 1965: 353-362.

The firm survived, in large part, because they chose to make plates for all their works and had protected them from damage. Other publishers who printed and warehoused their entire stock as printed sheets instead of in plates would have lost all their capital to the flames and would not have been able to rebound as quickly as the Harper brothers.

By 1845, one of the two largest stereotyping operations in Boston claimed to produce over 7,000 stereotype plates per year and used steam power to trim and shave them to type height.⁷⁷ Harper and Brothers could claim that by the mid-1850s they were warehousing nearly 10,000 plates for their magazine alone, not counting each of the published books they had stereotyped during the previous twenty years and were also storing. Harper's plates were stored in subterranean vaults beneath their new building, constructed as a state-of-the-art fireproof stereotyping, printing, and publishing headquarters in 1855 following the 1853 fire.⁷⁸

STEREOTYPING AND LABOR IN THE PRINTING TRADES

The United States printing trades and publishing industry underwent a tremendous period of growth and change in the first half of the nineteenth century. As Bruce Laurie has written, "its growth hinged on the fantastic pace of urbanization and proliferation of educational institutions, which increased the reading public and generated brisk demand

See also Eugene Exman. *The House of Harper: One Hundred and Fifty Years of Publishing*. New York: Harper & Row, 1967: 41. Ironically, the Harpers' fire was started in the fireproof, zinc-lined "camphine room" devoted to cleaning stereotype plates and rollers with the highly-flammable substance camphine, a purified form of turpentine.

⁷⁷ Rollo Silver. "Flash of the Comet: The Typographical Career of Samuel N. Dickinson." *Studies in Bibliography* 31, 1978: 68-89.

⁷⁸ Abbot, *The Harper Establishment*, 102.

for books, newspapers, and literary journals.”⁷⁹ Industrialization introduced new forms of technology and altered labor practices in larger shops. The traditional master-apprentice model began to break down as dedicated unskilled tasks for workers replaced the holistic training earlier printer’s apprentices received in smaller shops, fundamentally changing what was formerly a skilled artisan craft with skills and traditions that were passed down between master and apprentice. As early labor historian George Barnett wrote about this time,

At the beginning of the nineteenth century a journeyman printer was ordinarily able to do all the parts of the work necessary for the production of printed matter, although in the larger offices even at that time some workmen were employed exclusively as compositors and others as pressmen. As the volume of production and the size of the offices has increased, and as new machinery and new processes have been introduced, the work of the large printing office has come to be divided among many different classes of workmen.Despite a certain amount of overlapping, it has been readily conceded that the pressmen, stereotypers, and electrotypers, photo-engravers, and mailers are engaged at work for which the printers are not trained.⁸⁰

As steam-powered presses were introduced into firms, print shop labor became increasingly segmented. No longer were apprentices required to learn every aspect of the job from composition to hand presswork. With power presses, the dedicated job of press feeder required a far less skilled worker to feed paper into the machine. Larger publishers capitalized on this need and chose to increasingly hire women as press feeders, paying them considerably less than their unskilled male equivalents. This not only cheapened skills, as Laurie writes, but fragmented trade knowledge from being comprehensively

⁷⁹ Bruce Laurie. *Artisans Into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1989: 102.

⁸⁰ George E. Barnett. “The Printers: A Study in Trade Unionism.” *American Economic Association Quarterly* 3rd Series, 10 (3), Oct. 1909: 3-379 (243).

passed on to younger and newer workers, further alienating the remaining journeymen compositors who trained under the apprentice system.⁸¹

Under its apprentice model by the end of the first third of the nineteenth century, the printing trades in the United States had grown to such extent that there was an oversupply of skilled workers seeking regular employment. Because of this oversupply of labor and the resulting cheapening of wages by print shop owners, journeymen compositors attempted to organize themselves into city-wide typographical associations in order to keep wages standardized in their respective cities. The master-apprentice model also produced a large number of trained journeymen who did not have the capital to purchase their own printing establishments and who would not inherit a shop or be taken on as a partner by their former masters. The high costs of the new powered cylinder presses made it nearly impossible that a journeyman would become a master and owner of his own establishment. Instead, journeymen frequently worked as itinerant printers, being paid by piece work, as much or as little as they chose to do, moving from shop to shop and city to city as “tramp printers.” Skilled journeyman printers were among the most mobile artisans in early America. Many eventually moved from large Eastern cities to smaller towns in the West seeking better opportunities than could be found in the urban East, running newly-founded newspapers and print shops for owners in small towns that formerly did not have one. There is a rich literature of anecdotes and memoirs from tramp printers in the nineteenth century United States that describes this activity.⁸²

⁸¹ Laurie, *Artisans Into Workers*, 102.

⁸² See, for example, Otto J. Boutin. *A Catfish in the Bodoni, and Other Tales from the Golden Age of Tramp Printers*. St. Cloud, MN: North Star Press, 1970. David Dary. *Red Blood & Black Ink: Journalism in the Old West*. New York: Knopf, 1998. John M.

By 1833, New York's journeymen printers were complaining that the growth of stereotyping had rendered it steadily more difficult for compositors to support their families; a few years later, their complaints were focused on denouncing the introduction of steam-powered presses and the displacement of pressmen in the city's largest periodical and book-printing firms. William S. Pretzer writes,

As the ranks of compositors swelled with semiskilled hands, their status and security declined. Taken together, the machine presses, stereotyping, and expanded reliance on semiskilled workers drove down wages for both presswork and composition. Starting in the 1820s and cascading in the 1830s, the result was a full-scale labor crisis.⁸³

The Panic of 1837 seriously affected the printing trades just at the time that urban typographical associations were having some modest successes in creating uniform wage scales. Some early effects were felt by 1834, and the resulting depression did not ease until 1843. "Throughout the panic," writes Stevens, "the union refused to officially sanction a suspension of its wage scale."⁸⁴

By 1845, with New York established as the center of printing in the United States, automated presses were the norm for large shops and pressmen were relegated to the role of feeder on these steam-powered presses. The deskilling of print shop labor caused by

Howells and Marion V. Dearman. *Tramp Printers*. Pacific Grove, CA: Discovery Press, 2003.

⁸³ William S. Pretzer. "'Of the paper cap and inky apron': Journeyman Printers" in Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley. *An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790-1840*. A History of the Book in America, Volume II. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010: 166.

⁸⁴ George A. Stevens. *New York Typographical Union No. 6: Study of a Modern Trade Union and its Predecessors*. Albany: J. B. Lyon, 1913: 142.

the introduction of power presses was a classic form of labor displacement in an industrial revolution.⁸⁵

Journeyman's wages were also threatened by increasing forms of competition for their skilled labor. The arrival of country printers seeking higher wages steadily increased in the nineteenth century. Many shop masters were increasingly willing to give jobs to recent immigrants who may or may not have had years of printing experience and to use boys, "half-way" boys, or "two-thirders," compositors who had not completed their full apprenticeships before seeking work as unverified journeymen.

Stereotyping was the first, but clearly not the only threat to the established order of labor in the trades during this period. Because of these pressures, journeymen began to have a more oppositional relationship with owners of printing establishments. Many attempted to organize themselves into citywide typographical societies in an attempt to stabilize the prices for hired composition uniformly within a metropolitan area. Another function of the typographical societies, which evolved into modern trade unions, was to police their own members to stick to the agreed-upon price structure for composition. Certificates of membership were given out by the typographical associations so that one member could take a job in another city and be vetted as association-approved.

The rising number of European immigrants who claimed to have some printing experience was attractive to shop owners as cheaper forms of labor. With the increased movement of printers around the country, many former apprentices who had not completed their terms of apprenticeship attempted to move to another city and falsely

⁸⁵ Sean Wilentz. *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850*. 20th anniversary ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004: 129.

claim journeyman status. Identifying and excluding these “two-thirders” from work was a significant topic of discussion at the first national printers’ meetings. Occasional attempts by shop owners to train women and non-apprentices as compositors continued this movement of deskilling in the trades.⁸⁶ This phenomenon was more fully realized by the introduction of the Adams power press in the late 1840s, a large-scale book printing press which required dedicated sheet feeders and sheet receivers instead of trained pressmen, many of whom increasingly were women. By 1855, the new state-of-the-art Harper & Brothers headquarters boasted a workforce that was equally divided in gender and by task, with women making up the bulk of press feeders, binders, stampers, and packers. Men remained compositors, stereotypers, steam and press engineers, and warehouse staff.⁸⁷ In newspaper offices, the deskilling of labor was felt even more acutely. “Printers,” i.e. apprentice-trained journeymen, were replaced by “typesetters,” whose skills could be learned in months. *The New York Tribune* stated that the new demand for labor was for “mere type-setters, and not printers...in the strict sense of the word.” *The Tribune* itself listed no printers among its employees in 1853, only “compositors” and “feeders.”⁸⁸

By the 1840s, printers were feeling threats from all sides. Bruce Laurie, in his study of workers in Philadelphia, has written about Philadelphia journeymen,

Preoccupied with the immigrant menace, they stood idly by as their trade underwent a boom marked by expansion and modernization, as well as by mushrooming small book and job shops. Printers who had once worked their trade

⁸⁶ Ava Baron. “Questions of Gender: Deskilling and Demasculinization in the U.S. Printing Industry, 1830-1915.” *Gender & History* 1 (2) Summer 1989: 178-199. See also *Boston Courier*, 25 August 1830: 2.

⁸⁷ Abbot, *The Harper Establishment*.

⁸⁸ Richard B. Stott. *Workers in the Metropolis: Class, Ethnicity, and Youth in Antebellum New York City*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990: 52.

in the casual setting of the small shop now faced the choice of doing increasingly specialized tasks in large factories or sweatshops. They saw their work traditions assaulted as employers divided up skills and hired “half-trained” men and women, many of whom had their hours extended to eleven and twelve a day. On top of this, wages hardly improved in the course of the decade, and journeymen printers, still the best paid of all artisans, were beginning to grow restless.⁸⁹

The Typographical Association of New York, a militant trade union, was formed in 1831. Earlier associations of printers in New York dated back to the 1809 establishment of the New York Typographical Society, formed to standardize prices for composition in the city. The 1831 organization was formed out of the need to organize around a number of threats to the profession, among these stereotyping and youth labor, both of which were felt to be taking work away from compositors.⁹⁰ The several citywide typographical associations in the United States came together in 1852 to form the National Typographical Union, America’s first national trade union.

At the second national convention of journeyman printers in 1851, one motion made on the floor asked Congress to add duties to imported stereotype plates, thus encouraging more domestic production instead. Rates on duties would therefore bring the costs of imported plates “up to the rates paid in the United States for their composition and casting.”⁹¹ The motion went to committee but did not make it to a floor vote. This action, by organized journeymen, echoed the same arguments made by publishers fifty

⁸⁹ Bruce Laurie. *Working People of Philadelphia, 1800-1850*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980: 185.

⁹⁰ Stevens, *New York Typographical Union No.6*, 108. A long introductory statement to the association’s incorporation documents which carefully states the situation and anxieties of printers in New York at this time is reprinted in full in the *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor* (Washington, D.C.) 61, November 1905: 896-899.

⁹¹ *Proceedings of the Second National Convention of Journeymen Printers, Held in Baltimore, September 1851*. New York: Printed for the National Convention, 1851: 8.

years before to Congress about the dangers posed by Bible Societies importing foreign sets of plates at the expense of domestic production.⁹²

Despite this opposition from journeymen, the creation of independent stereotype foundries in major cities and the increasing adoption of plates by printers and publishers had only a minor effect on labor issues within the printing trades. In the United States, journeymen compositors, skilled workers who were amongst the highest paid artisans in the nineteenth century, found their numbers increased by such large amounts by mid-century that the relatively small number of stereotypers producing plates never had a significant impact as a threat upon their livelihoods. Stereotype plates still needed to be created first from set type by a compositor in a print shop, so the threat to compositors' livelihoods due to an increase in platemaking was an indirect one that could not be immediately or conclusively proved, as reprintings from plates took place over many years. Journeymen printers simply had more immediate threats to contend with in the form of two-thirders, foreign and youth labor, and the rise of power presses.

The 1830s and 1840s brought "swift mechanization" to the printing trades in a way that was unlike any other urban craft or industry in America.⁹³ Other light industrial and manufacturing trades that were centered in urban environments did not undergo a similarly swift change in operations as they became mechanized and altered their labor practices. The changes that took place due to the introduction of stereotyping were

⁹² Mathew Carey, among others, successfully argued against several efforts by American Bible societies who petitioned Congress to waive standard importation duties on sets of stereotype plates to Scripture purchased on their behalf and imported from England. See "Exemption from Duty." Senate Document 482, 14th Congress, 1st Session, 5 April 1816 and Mathew Carey et al. "Protection to Printers of Books." Senate Document 572, 16th Congress, 1st session, 26 January 1820.

⁹³ Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 112.

similarly ones of a like kind rather than revolutionary. Stereotyping added one additional step to the typefounding and printing process by its own set of skilled labor practice. It furthered the transition of small shops from printer to larger publisher, and it helped to capitalize the printing trades in new ways while also offering a technological improvement that increased efficiency for those printers and nascent publishers wealthy enough to exploit it.

By the later 1840s, stereotyping was an established business option for larger publishers to employ when printing books and periodicals. The commissioning of a set of plates for certain types of new works was now a mark of the well-capitalized firm, even in smaller towns, though the foundries themselves remained located primarily in major metropolitan areas. Typefounders also used stereotyping and electrotyping to reproduce stock images—“cuts”—quickly and in quantity from an initial woodcut or wood engraving. These copied images could then be listed in type specimen books and sold in quantity to every smaller printer or newspaper around the country.⁹⁴ The word “stereotype” was also beginning to enter common usage as a term for a mirror image of something, or even for copying itself.

⁹⁴ John Jackson. *A Treatise on Wood Engraving, Historical and Practical*. London: C. Knight, 1839. Marcus Wood. *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780-1865*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

CHAPTER 2

THE EARLY HISTORY OF STEREOTYPING IN THE UNITED STATES: MATHEW CAREY AND THE QUARTO BIBLE MARKETPLACE

And some certain significance lurks in all things, else all things are little worth, and the round world itself but an empty cipher, except to sell by the cartload, as they do hills about Boston, to fill up some morass in the Milky Way.

— Ishmael, in *Moby-Dick*¹

In 1813, Mathew Carey's business was the largest and most well-capitalized publishing firm in the United States. As a young man in Dublin in 1779, he had gotten into trouble with the authorities for authoring a pamphlet on Catholic rights and fled to France for a year. There, he found work as a printer for several months outside Paris in Passy, where Benjamin Franklin had set up a modest press for publishing political pamphlets during his time there as agent for the Continental Congress. While in France, he also met Lafayette through Franklin's circles. Returning to Dublin the following year, Carey followed his interests in politics, editing, and printing, founding a newspaper, the *Volunteer's Journal*, which also landed him in trouble with the state for its progressive politics. Carey was again forced to leave Ireland and emigrated to America in 1784. Lafayette was staying at Mount Vernon with Washington at the time, and when he learned of the young Irish publisher's arrival in America, sent him a check for 200

¹ Herman Melville. *Moby-Dick*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1967: 358.

pounds to start his business anew in America. So it was with this near-mythic start that Carey's long and successful career began in the United States.

Carey moved to Philadelphia, where he set up a press and published a magazine, *The American Museum*, and fell into the rough and tumble world of partisan politics in 1790s Philadelphia, then the nation's capital and center of publishing. Carey, a Catholic and an ardent republican, took pains to disabuse critics of the notion that the new Irish immigrants to America had any loyalties to foreign or religious authorities other than their new government. He famously scrapped with the British loyalist William Cobbett, who, writing as Peter Porcupine, skewered many aspects of the new republic's government and actions. Later, after Cobbett returned to Britain and began a second career as a reformer and parliamentary reporter, Carey would continue a regular correspondence with him late in life.

Carey's business grew and quickly prospered in Philadelphia. In addition to his magazine and job printing, he brought out a number of books under his own imprint in the 1790s, and between 1794 and 1795 entered into agreements with other publishers for ten jointly-published editions, including partnering with the prominent Massachusetts publisher Isaiah Thomas on an edition of Jedidiah Morse's *American Universal Geography*. He had also, significantly, earned enough capital to publish a large edition of William Guthrie's *New System of Modern Geography* in two large quarto volumes with an added atlas volume of plates. After the Guthrie, which was his largest project to date, he let go the eight printers in his employ and focused entirely on bookselling and publishing, commissioning works to be completed by local job printers under his imprint

and providing the capital to do so. As James Green has remarked, “from 1794 on he was more nearly a publisher in the modern sense than any other American.”²

From Philadelphia, Carey maintained a network of book sales agents and distribution connections across the South and West that was unrivalled. He actively traded his books with other publishers and booksellers across the country, from South Carolina to Northern New England and abroad.³ Carey was well-known in both his own time and today as one of the first publishers to maintain works set up in standing type, an extraordinary investment in materials and warehousing. In the handpress period, printing jobs were composed from loose type, set up into forms, corrected, proofed, and then printed from, all in a relatively short period of time. Once the work was printed, the type was cleaned and redistributed into its cases, ready for the next job. This workflow, producing many different books from the same fonts of type, was the most efficient for printing shops, as type was a major investment and could not be added to easily or without significant expense. Publishers also needed to estimate the demand, and hence the size of an edition, for a work in press and then be prepared to hold on to printed copies of it to sell and exchange for some time as the edition sold out, or until sufficient demand required a reprint. Editions of schoolbooks, geographies, and other works printed in America at this time would often not be reprinted for several years until the edition sold out of its initial print run.

² James N. Green. “From Printer to Publisher: Mathew Carey and the Origins of Nineteenth-Century Book Publishing.” In Hackenberg, Michael. *Getting the Books Out: Papers of the Chicago Conference on the Book in 19th-Century America*. Washington, D.C.: Center for the Book, Library of Congress, 1987: 26-44.

³ James N. Green. *Mathew Carey: Publisher and Patriot*. Philadelphia: The Library Company of Philadelphia, 1985.

By 1803, Carey had amassed two complete Bibles held in standing type, a quarto Family Bible, and a duodecimo School Bible, the latter of which had been set up in the 1790s and later purchased by him. He also maintained a separate New Testament in standing type.⁴ Carey's other publishing innovations early in the nineteenth century included using his networks to sell Bibles by subscription to rural America and selling Family Bibles in a variety of different options and price points—on different papers, in several choices of binding, and with or without maps, illustrations, commentary and supplementary materials—initially some twenty different options, ranging from the moderately expensive \$3.75 to \$18.00, an extraordinary sum for a single volume.⁵ By the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, he essentially held the American market in quarto Family Bibles and would go on to be “the foremost printer and publisher of the Bible in America during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.”⁶ By 1813, he was offering about 50 different Bible variations to the trade and for retail sale.

Carey and his fellow booksellers and publishers understood the need for having steady-sellers, those works that were in constant demand and provided some small measure of stability for one's business. Holding an entire work in standing type allowed a publisher to warehouse the type instead of printed stock (on paper that had to be purchased in advance), and to print additional copies whenever there was sufficient

⁴ Carey's School Bible in standing type was purchased from the New York printer Hugh Gaine, who had imported it from Scotland in the early 1790s. See Mathew Carey. *Autobiography*. New York: Eugene L. Schwab, 1942: 48 and Rollo Silver. *The American Printer 1787-1825*. Charlottesville: The Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1967: 90.

⁵ Paul C. Gutjahr. *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777-1880*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999: 26-29.

⁶ Margaret Hills. *The English Bible in America: A Bibliography of Editions of the Bible & the New Testament Published in America, 1777-1957*. New York: American Bible Society and the New York Public Library, 1961: 15.

demand. This was a significant initial expense, but over time the investment was a good one. The publisher did not then have to pay compositors to reset the work, and new impressions could be brought out to satisfy demand considerably faster. For works such as a Family or School Bible, it also meant that any minor errors could be corrected in the standing types once discovered, so Carey could claim that his Bibles were the most textually correct scriptures available in America. Carey's use of standing type was a landmark of sorts within the printing trades and widely known. Philadelphia city guides of the early nineteenth century frequently mention Carey's innovation as a mark of the progress of industry within their city.⁷

Mathew Carey knew about European advances in creating stereotype plates early on, well before the technology came to America. Accounts of stereotyping and sales notices for stereotyped works published in England and France appeared in American newspapers as early as the mid-1790s. As evidence of his interest, in 1807 Carey copied into his memo book a recent letter from the English stereotyper Andrew Wilson to the New York printer John Watts outlining the upfront costs for casting plates of books. Watts presumably showed the letter to Carey on one of his frequent business trips to New York around this time. As this is the earliest known enumeration of the costs of stereotyping, it is worth transcribing here in full:

April 19, 1807
Statement of the Expense of Johnson's dictionary, from
A. Wilson's letter to John Watts, dated Dec. 11,
1806.
Casework, 176,000 letters @ 77 – £s
5.10:0

⁷ See, for example *Philadelphia in 1824; Or, A Brief Account of the Various Institutions and Public Objects In This Metropolis: Being A Complete Guide For Strangers, and an Useful Compendium for Inhabitants*. Philadelphia: H. C. Carey & I. Lea, 1824: 111-112.

Reading 4d in the Shilling for English	
Dictionaries -----	1.17
To be doubled –	7.7 ----- 14.14
Plates, weighing average of 32 lbs. per sheet 6/6 –	10.8
Editor, who inserts every useful & new word, not to be found in Johnson's, by agreement --	3.3
	<hr/> 28.5
Number of sheets -----	40
	<hr/> £ 1130.
Condition of my refusing to stereotype the same work for any other person -----	282.10
	<hr/>
Total expense retaining the press work (This is the American price) -----	1412.10
Condition of giving up the plates when finished –	565
	<hr/>
Total expense retaining the press work –	1997.10
A second set of plates & of the first ---	706.5
	<hr/>
Total expense of 2 sets of plates	2683.15
	<hr/>
=	11912.52

My terms of payment are, one half when a work is print in hand, & and the other half when the plates are finished; because, in stead of printing 10,000 copies in one Edition of such a Book as the above, the market may be equally well supplied by Editions of 1,000 copies; which leaves nine tenths of the capital hitherto employed in paper & press work. Were two editions of the above work compared from beginning to End, with moveable types, the expense w^d exceed £6000.⁸

Carey's response to these remarks is not known, nor is there any extant correspondence between him and Watts or Wilson. This detailed cost breakdown came to

⁸ Mathew Carey, Accounts/Memo Book, 1812: 161-162, Lea & Febiger Collection, Volume 16, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter HSP). All spelling and punctuation has been transcribed as written by Carey. See also Rosalind Remer. *Printers and Men of Capital: Philadelphia Book Publishers in the New Republic*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996: 95-97 and n.63, p. 179.

him only four years after his Bible in standing type was first published. If implemented in the United States, a stereotyped work could be either a more efficient way of publishing a book or a direct challenge to his innovative business model. Carey kept up a steady network of correspondence with foreign publishers, especially those in England and his native Ireland. They supplied him with books as well as information about the printing trades and other political developments in Europe, allowing him to keep further abreast of the growth and impact of stereotyping, especially in England, and its effects on English publishers and the book trade.⁹

Carey would have recognized that this new technology provided one way to circumvent the problem of keeping large quantities of useful and valuable type tied-up exclusively for one book and not put to more efficient use. In the letter, Wilson's condition of requiring payment *not* to stereotype another copy of Johnson's *Dictionary* for someone else raises an entirely new series of questions and challenges, for publishers and typefounders alike. Wilson demanded a significant sum to effectively grant one publisher sole access to a stereotyped work. Once other English typefounders began offering stereotyping services in their own shops, as they would soon do, Wilson's effective monopoly ended and he had to compete in a marketplace of stereotypers for a publisher's business. When John Watts first began creating stereotype plates in New York in 1813, and firms such as D. & G. Bruce and Collins & Co. followed suit the

⁹ Vincent Kinane. "'Literary Food' for the American Market: Patrick Byrne's Exports to Mathew Carey." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 104 (2) 1994: 315-332. In addition to subscription agents in the western and southern United States, Carey also sent a book agent to Mexico in 1822 for the Spanish-language markets. See Nancy Vogeley. *The Bookrunner: A History of Inter-American Relations—Print, Politics, and Commerce in the United States and Mexico, 1800-1830*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2011.

following year, American publishing and typefounding underwent the same changes their counterparts in the English trades had endured a decade earlier.

A GROWING MARKET FOR STEREOTYPE PLATES

Beginning in 1813, several typefounders in New York began experimenting with casting stereotype plates from set type. They soon contacted American booksellers and publishers, including Mathew Carey, with offers to create sets of plates for Bibles and other works. Carey was offered copies of the first stereotyped work in America, a Catechism, of which he purchased a large quantity after first examining a sample. In a letter of 19 August 1813, the New York bookselling and publishing firm of Whiting & Watson wrote to Carey about their pre-existing arrangement to exchange copies of his Bible. Whiting & Watson specialized in theological works and sold Carey's Family Bible in their New York bookstore. In the past they had exchanged smaller, cheaper editions of the Bible with Carey. In addition to agreeing to receive some copies of Carey's latest works, Whiting & Watson offered Carey thirty copies each of their newest publications, including the "Westminster Larger Catechism, stereotype, with proofs, selected by Dr. McLeod, reducing the size of the book. 142 pp. 12mo. Fine (our \$6 paper) neatly bound at 0/37 C".¹⁰ Whiting & Watson had commissioned John Watts, an English printer living in New York and trained in stereotyping, to create the first set of domestically-produced stereotype plates for the *Westminster Catechism*. Watts had come to the United States and set up a printing business in New York by 1809. He spoke French, and his stereotype

¹⁰ Whiting & Watson to Mathew Carey, 19 August 1813, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 87, HSP.

process was informed by both the French method of Didot and by the English system of Stanhope. After a few years, Watts returned to England, having been unable to make a living exclusively as a stereotyper.¹¹ Carey agreed to purchase the thirty copies of the *Catechism* on exchange, and Whiting & Watson sent him the first eight copies of his order, which reached Philadelphia on 30 September 1813.¹²

The remainder of this chapter will rely on a close examination of the unpublished records of the firms of Mathew Carey and Carey & Son held by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. By documenting and interpreting Mathew Carey's decisions negotiating this newly-changed marketplace for plates as well as for printed stock, we can see how stereotyping gained a hold in the United States as one publishing option as well as how it began to shift certain dynamics of power and control within the printing trades and publishing industry. Carey's principal steady-seller, the quarto Family Bible, was about to be challenged by several newly-cast stereotype editions. The New York typefounding firm of D. & G. Bruce wrote to Carey in the spring of 1814 with the news,

¹¹ George A. Kubler. *A New History of Stereotyping*. New York, 1941: 148, 153.

¹² Alexander M'Leod. *The Larger Catechism, Agreed Upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, With the Assistance of Commissioners From the Church of Scotland, and Received by the Several Presbyterian Churches in America*. New-York: Stereotyped and Printed by J. Watts & Co. for Whiting & Watson, Theological and Classical Booksellers, 1813. Shaw-Shoemaker 30520.

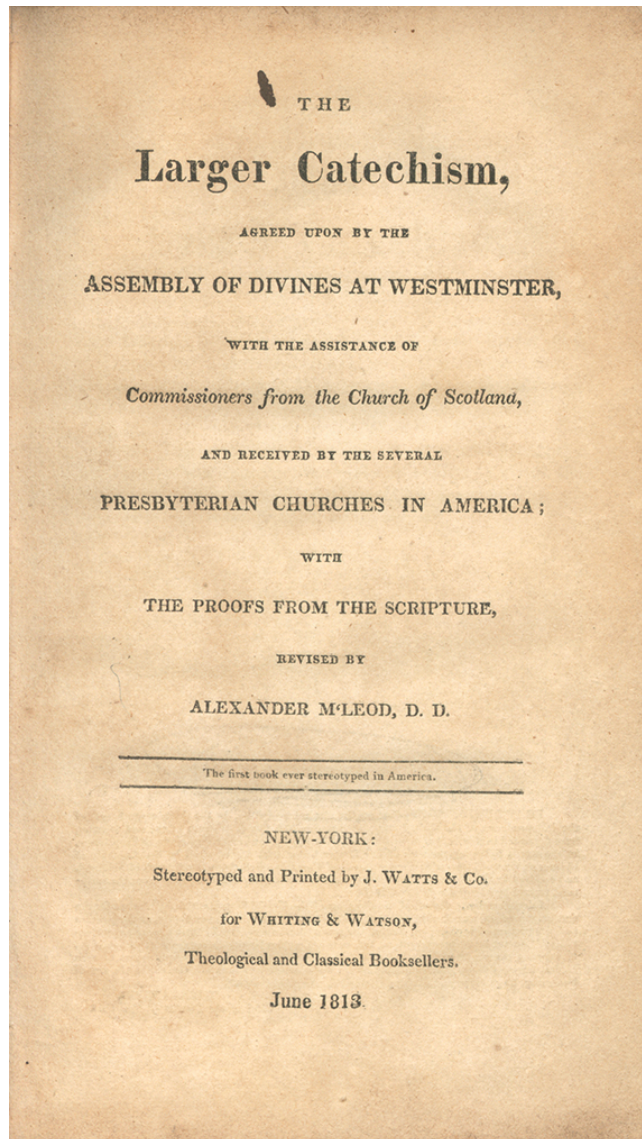


Figure 2.1. The first book stereotyped in the United States.¹³

We are now Stereotyping the octavo Bible as per specimen page, and expect to complete it in the course of the year. We wish to sell a set of the plates in Philadelphia, and offer it to you in the first instances. The Old and New Testament and Apocrypha will be completed in 1128 pages. The plates of which will sell at \$3.50 each, making a total of \$3948....

¹³ Alexander M'Leod, *The Larger Catechism*. New-York: Stereotyped and Printed by J. Watts & Co. for Whiting & Watson, 1813. Author's own copy.

And they go on, exaggerating more than a bit: “The cost of these plates is only about one third of what it would cost to get the same work up with common types, and they will last much longer.”¹⁴ While the plates would last longer, the cost of creating plates in these early days was at least one third *higher* than paying for composition alone. The Bruces were clear in their intent: to offer the first right of refusal to the largest publisher in America, someone who had control over Bible distribution to all the southern states and out West to Ohio. The price, while high, was fair. Carey claimed to have paid \$7000 for his duodecimo Bible in standing type several years prior to this offer.¹⁵ The Philadelphia Bible Society had imported a set of Bible plates from England and took delivery of them in 1812, just after the outbreak of war. Since that time, no other British stereotype plates had come to America, and Watts’s *Larger Catechism* was the first stereotyped title produced domestically, so this offer from the Bruces was for one of the first major stereotyping efforts to take place in the United States. David and George Bruce, Edinburgh natives, had been in the United States since the mid-1790s working in the printing trades. David Bruce spent a year in England around 1812, where he was said to have purchased the trade secrets of stereotyping in order to bring the practice back to his New York business. The firm of D. & G. Bruce would prosper as stereotypers and typefounders in the early nineteenth century.¹⁶

Their work was set up as a more modest Bible than Carey’s flagship quarto Family Bible. In the Bruces’ edition, there were no footnotes or annotations. If Carey

¹⁴ D. & G. Bruce to Mathew Carey, 9 April 1814, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 88, HSP.

¹⁵ Green, *Mathew Carey*, 40 and Carey, *Autobiography*, 48.

¹⁶ J. Leander Bishop. *A History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860. Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Volume I.* Philadelphia: Edward Young & Co., 1868: 633-637.

purchased this set of plates, he would have the advantage of being able to print Bibles in quarto, octavo, and duodecimo any time the need arose. The Bruces made clear, however, that they were in the business of copying the Bible and stereotype plates in sets, and thus Carey would not be the exclusive holder of that set of octavo Bible plates. Unlike Alexander Wilson's English precedent, they did not propose a fee to Carey for the exclusive right of casting only one set of plates. Carey would merely be the owner of the "Philadelphia set," with other sets presumably already being offered to publishers for the New York and Boston markets. If the Bruces could produce and sell one set of plates, as they claimed, for a third of what it would cost to independently compose them, they would have to have produced multiple sets of plates from their initial setting of type simply to make up their own composition and production costs.

Carey declined to purchase this first set of stereotype plates he was offered, but countered by inquiring about costs for the New Testament alone. The Bruces proposed the following: "We have the Testament in hand, and would sell a set of the plates at \$2.25 per page, amounting to \$756. We would allow 25 per cent for your Old Testament on account, if you would deliver it immediately, as the value of metal must fall soon. Our Testament will be completed in July. We have no scale of prices for stereotyping and do not intend to make a general business of it."¹⁷ Carey agreed to purchase this set of plates provided the Bruces took his old New Testament in standing type as part of the purchase. Later that fall, the Bruces wrote that the plates were all cast and being revised. They also wrote apologizing for the delay on 7 November, as "Our men are much out on military

¹⁷ D. & G. Bruce to Mathew Carey, 15 April 1814, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 88, HSP.

duty.”¹⁸ The complete New Testament, 337 plates in all, shipped from New York to Philadelphia on 17 November. Carey was charged \$2.25 per plate, for a total of \$756. He sent the Bruces a substantial quantity of old type in June, valued at \$421.88, leaving a balance of \$334.12. Carey did quite well on this transaction, selling his old type to New York for the Bruces’ use during wartime, and bringing his own actual cost for the New Testament down to almost exactly one dollar per plate.

Carey wisely printed one final impression of the New Testament from his old standing types before he sent them to the Bruces in New York that summer.¹⁹ Once he received his New Testament plates, he did not immediately print from them. Instead, they were warehoused while he continued to sell copies of his final 1814 impression. (Carey attempted unsuccessfully to sell his New Testament plates to a New York printer two years later, which will be discussed later in this chapter). In 1814 Carey also purchased a second set of stereotype plates, this time from the New York typefounding and printing firm of Collins & Co. Isaac and Benjamin Collins were Quaker printers originally from New Jersey. These plates were for Lindley Murray’s *English Grammar*, another guaranteed steady-seller. Carey made annual visits to New York during this period and would have taken a keen interest in the new stereotype processes being worked on by Watts and others. In a letter of 21 September, Collins & Co. mention their prior discussions about the exchange. Carey again did not pay full price, but instead exchanged copies of his “Coarse Bible,” his Family Bible printed on cheaper, coarser paper, in

¹⁸ D. & G. Bruce to Mathew Carey, 18 October 1814 and 7 November 1814, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 88, HSP.

¹⁹ *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, : Newly Translated Out of the Original Greek; And With the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised....* Philadelphia: Printed and Published by Mathew Carey, 1814. Shaw-Shoemaker 30868.

exchange for the new set of plates. Collins' offer was to exchange as many coarse Bibles at a 1/3 discount to make up the equivalent of 900 dollars for the set of plates to the *English Grammar*. On 19 October, Collins & Co. sent 300 copies of the Grammar in sheets to Carey, newly-printed from "our" set of plates. They also mentioned sending along "thy" set of plates to the Grammar once it was finished, clearly implying there were multiple sets and that Collins was holding on to one for their own future printing. This set of plates was also stereotyped by J. Watts for Collins & Co.²⁰ Collins & Co., like the Bruces, were trading in multiple sets of plates to the same work, and they attempted to place the appropriate set with a publisher in each regional market. Carey's edition of Murray's *English Grammar* was published in 1815, with a title page noting it was "Carey's Stereotype Edition."²¹ He would later write to Collins saying he had an edition of 2000 copies in press. Carey again had made a shrewd business decision, acquiring a set of plates without investing any cash, and exchanging a large stock of Bibles for his copy of Murray's *Grammar* in plates.

The following year, Collins & Co. began to stereotype a complete quarto Bible. They were quick to announce this to the trade, both to claim the precedent and to seek out potential purchasers for their plates. They wrote to Carey, who had agreed to take copies of it on exchange, in February 1815 about this new venture: "We do not expect to have any Bibles finished from our Stereotype Plates under 5 or 6 months." And in the same letter, "We sincerely hope that we shall carry on the Bible Business with a mutual good

²⁰ Collins & Co. to Mathew Carey, 19 October 1814, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 88, HSP.

²¹ Lindley Murray. *English Grammar, Adapted to the Different Classes of Learners. With an Appendix, Containing Rules and Observations For Assisting the More Advanced Students to Write With Perspicuity and Accuracy*. Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by Mathew Carey, 1815. Shaw-Shoemaker 35356.

understanding believing it necessary to insure a mutual advantage.”²² The mutual advantage to which they refer is the understanding that both Collins & Co. and Carey and Son would now be competing for customers for their respective Family Bibles. Collins & Co. could at least make the claim that their stereotype Bible was a newer, more attractive, and more authoritative innovation.

While this business was going on, Carey was dealing with another unexpected consequence of moving from printing with standing type to printing with plates: the need for a base or blocks to bring the plates up to type height for printing. He corresponded with D. & G. Bruce and Collins & Co. simultaneously at this time about the utility of using wood or brass blocks for his New Testament plates, attempting to find out which option would be the best and most cost-effective. On 24 February 1815 he asked of Collins & Co: “At what rate can these brass blocks be made in New Yorke?”²³ On 3 March, he requested a set of brass blocks. The invoice, dated 6 March, lists “6 Brass Blocks for 12 Pages of 12mo @ 9 dolls... \$54.”²⁴ The brass blocks are doubles, for printing four pages at a time. On 18 April he wrote, “The Grammar I expect to ship and will have an edition of 2000 copies under way. The blocks you sent me for the Test. being too small I shall therefore have to procure and if contrary to your declaration can you agree to have them returned.”²⁵

²² Collins & Co. to Mathew Carey, 23 February 1815, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 92, HSP.

²³ Mathew Carey to Collins & Co., 24 February 1815, Lea & Febiger Records, Volume 28, HSP.

²⁴ Collins & Co. to Mathew Carey, 3 March 1815, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 92, HSP.

²⁵ Mathew Carey to Collins & Co., 18 April 1815, Lea & Febiger Records, Volume 28, HSP.

The Bruces wrote to Carey on 26 April to say, "...we have 24 blocks on which we have struck off an edition of our Testament. They will answer you equally well, and as we shall not want to print more for some time, you can have the whole or 12 of them at two dollars a piece."²⁶ Carey wrote back on 29 April stating that he wanted brass, as the mahogany blocks were liable to warp and become useless. The Bruces had sent him sample mahogany blocks to examine, but he returned them, saying "I have but two stereotype works The Grammar & Testament. I have brass blocks for the former."²⁷

In June, Collins & Co. wrote a long letter to Carey, stating, in part,

We have 2 sets of our Stereotype Quarto Bible cast, & should be glad to sell thee one of them in preference to any other person in Phila. and Baltimore as it would not then increase the Printers of Quarto Bibles in the U. States. Would it suit thee to purchase and send one set to Pittsburgh or Baltimore We shall probably sell to some Bookseller South of thy city in the course of this year. Suppose thou reflects a little on this subject & please drop us a line of mail. Thy friends, Collins & Co.

²⁸

With their courteous threat of underselling to another firm in Carey's distribution area within the year, they sought to force Carey to buy a set of their quarto Bible plates. In other business, they agreed to Carey's printing of 2000 coarse and 1000 fine concordances for their Bible, stating they had thought of stereotyping it, but if Carey gave them favorable terms they would take his copies instead. They wanted to do business with Carey, but also to tell him how many Bibles they themselves planned to publish for the New York and New England markets. Two months later, Carey declined the purchase of the quarto Bible plates, as his own Family Bible in standing type was in reasonably good shape. But a setback came soon thereafter, when Collins & Co. informed him that

²⁶ D. & G. Bruce to Mathew Carey, 26 April 1815, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 92, HSP.

²⁷ Mathew Carey to D. & G. Bruce, 12 May 1815, Lea & Febiger Records, Volume 28, HSP.

²⁸ Collins & Co. to Mathew Carey, 26 June 1815, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 92, HSP.

they were going to stereotype two sets of Brown's Bible *Concordance* and print from it after all, as "they will cost us printing from the Plates less than thy offer."²⁹ Carey had just been undercut on price for a printing job, and for the properly-capitalized publisher, the value of investing in a set of plates to produce cheaper editions was becoming much more evident, and attractive.

In 1815, D. & G. Bruce stereotyped and published their own New Testament, further cutting into part of Carey's business.³⁰ And as further evidence of the increasingly competitive Bible marketplace, Carey's New York colleagues Whiting & Watson became more critical of his output. In June, they requested on exchange a large quantity of Carey's works, including 1000 fine paper New Testaments and a selection, from his list, of Bibles and other works totaling some 2500 volumes. In November, with only part of the order fulfilled, they wrote concerning problems with what had already arrived, including missing sheets, the wrong sets of illustrations to the Bibles, and numerous signatures to books that were damaged in shipment. Moving books between Philadelphia and New York before the advent of railroads in the early nineteenth century was, as William Charvat and others have pointed out, never without potential pitfalls.³¹

Whiting & Watson wrote again later that year, pressing Carey further on his Bible costs as well: "Your terms for your 4to will never do. We could now sell 100, but cannot consent to do business for nothing." And, later in the same letter,

We submit to you, whether it is good policy to destroy the predilection of the community in this state leastward for your Bible, by denying to the Dealers who

²⁹ Collins & Co. to Mathew Carey, 22 August 1815, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 92, HSP.

³⁰ *The New Testament*. New-York: Stereotyped and Printed by D. & G. Bruce, 1815.

³¹ William Charvat. *Literary Publishing in America, 1790-1850*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993.

must be the medium of its diffusion, liberal terms; especially at a time when one Stereotype 4to is almost ready for publication, and the facility of stereotyping bids fair to put Bibles of all denominations upon the footing of the common books.³²

Whiting & Watson were fully aware that Collins & Co. were about to produce multiple sets of stereotype Family Bible plates. The monopoly which Carey held on this work in the United States was about to end and the marketplace open up and become newly competitive. By early December 1815, all the booksellers of New York would have been aware of this impending change in the Bible business and would seem to have welcomed it. Collins & Co. issued a trade circular for their own stereotype quarto Bible early in the year. It used Mathew Carey's model of numbering each variant option: with or without the notes, Apocrypha, and plates; on four different papers; and with several different binding options. All told, 106 possible quarto Bible variants were offered to booksellers at prices ranging from \$1.62 for a Coarse edition in sheets to \$18.50 for a superfine wove paper edition with the full complement of additional texts and engravings in gilt calf, Russia or Morocco bindings. Collins & Co.'s prices slightly undercut Carey's Family Bible options for most of their variants. Carey's virtual dominance over the Family Bible marketplace was now seriously challenged, and the rapid changes taking place in typefounding and bookselling in New York now made Philadelphia seem very far away from the center of innovation in the American printing trades.

³² Whiting & Watson to Mathew Carey, 3 December 1815, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 96, HSP.

SELLING THE NEW TESTAMENT PLATES

Mathew Carey never printed from the 337 New Testament plates he purchased in the fall of 1814. His own 1814 New Testament in standing type would be the last edition of that work he would ever print. Carey made an agreement with the New York printing and bookselling firm of T. & W. Mercein in the summer of 1816 to sell his New Testament plates, offering them at cost (\$756), one third of which was payable in their edition of Lemprière's *Classical Dictionary*, and the remaining two thirds in stock of the New Testament that they would print from the plates.³³ Carey benefited in several ways from this arrangement. He had already embargoed his edition in Philadelphia for eighteen months, thus preserving his hold over the Philadelphia market for stereotyped New Testaments during this early period. He was able to print one final impression from his standing type before sending the old type to the Bruces as partial payment for the plates. And by 1816, he used his investment in the plates as capital to procure more stock and a large quantity of newly-printed stereotype Testaments that would carry him forward for some time.

Carey's business decisions show an evolution in his work as a publisher confronting the world of printing with plates in the United States for the first time. For widely reprinted works such as the New Testament, to which no copyright could be held,

³³ John Lemprière. *A Classical Dictionary: Containing a Copious Amount of All the Proper Names Mentioned in Ancient Authors....* New-York: Printed and Published for A. T. Goodrich and William B. Gilley, New-York, Mathew Carey and Edward Earle, Philadelphia. By T. & W. Mercein, 1816. Shaw-Shoemaker 38053. T. & W. Mercein to Thomas Kirk, 15 June, 1816, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 99, HSP.

STEREOTYPE EDITION
OF
COLLINS'S QUARTO FAMILY BIBLE,
With Canne's Marginal References.

In a former Circular we gave notice of our intention to procure a set of Stereotype plates for our Quarto Family Bible; and remarked, at the same time, that great success had attended this mode of printing, both in France and England. To accomplish our object, we have employed John Watts, who introduced the art into this country about two years since, after having received complete instruction in the business from his brother Richard Watts, and from Andrew Wilson, of London, who alone (with the exception of the founders employed at the Universities in Great Britain) possess the art in perfection.

We have now the satisfaction of stating that a great proportion of the work is already finished, and that the whole will be completed in a few months: shortly after which, our first edition from the plates will be printed. The Small Pica type of our late edition of the Bible has been chosen as the model for our Stereotype Plates; having, however, been much improved in the Roman, and a new Italic introduced. We have enriched the work by inserting Canne's copious and highly esteemed Marginal References. Great attention is bestowed to render this Stereotype edition free from errors; which, when accomplished, will recommend it to every reader of the Sacred Volume. By the union of correctness in typography, with beauty of type, we hope to gratify all our friends; and we shall reflect with pleasure, that we have used our utmost endeavours to produce a volume claiming general approbation throughout the United States.

We cannot more clearly point out the advantages of Stereotype Printing, than by presenting an extract from the advertisement of A. Wilson, of London, whose experience of nine years has fully proved that this art promises the most extensive and important advantages to modern literature. Among many unanswerable arguments in favour of this mode of printing, he states that, "The Stereotype Art possesses a *security against error*, which must stamp every work so printed with a decided superiority of character. If, after all the care and attention that competent and industrious editors can bestow, some inaccuracies should still escape observation in a first edition, it is a pleasing satisfaction to know that these may be corrected as they are discovered, without any injury to the plates, and with such perfect nicety that the most acute eye cannot discern where an alteration has been made. Thus in all Stereotype books, the *imperfections*, if any, of a first and small impression, may be easily and speedily rectified; whilst its *perfections* remain undisturbed in all future impressions; and of course all *accumulation of error* in each succeeding edition is entirely precluded. And what an important security it is, that the numerous train of incidental mistakes which are continually occurring in the printing of works by moveable types, and to which every new edition superadds its own particular share of error, may thus be completely remedied by the Stereotype invention. In Stereotype, every page of the most extensive work has a separate plate; all the pages, therefore, of a work, must be *equally new and beautiful*. By the old method, the types of each sheet are distributed, and of the distributed types the succeeding sheets are composed; so that, although a few of the earlier sheets of a volume may be well printed, the last part of the same volume, in consequence of the types being in a gradual state of wear as the work proceeds, must be executed in a very inferior manner."

We annex our terms to the trade for the work, bound and in sheets. On purchases the net amount of which is \$50 or 100, a credit of three months will be allowed, from 100 to 200, 6 months; on all exceeding 200, 9 months. A discount of $\frac{1}{4}$ will be made from the printed retail prices on all purchases exceeding 50 dollars net, with credit above mentioned.

COLLINS & CO.

New-York, First Month, 1815.

SUPERFINE MEDIUM.

	Prices in Sheets.	Retail Bound.
No. 1 Old and New Testament	\$3 50	\$7 50
2 with Apocrypha	4 07	8 50
3 Apocrypha and Concordance	4 32	9
4 with Concordance	3 85	8
5 with Notes	4 10	8 50
6 with Notes and Concordance	4 45	9
7 Notes, Apocrypha and Concordance	5 02	10
12 Maps and Plates 100 cts.		

COARSE MEDIUM.

No. 37 Old and New Testament	\$1 62	\$3 50
38 with Apocrypha	1 90	4
39 Apocrypha and Concordance	2 14	4 50
40 Concordance	1 86	4
41 Notes	1 93	4
42 Notes and Concordance	2 17	4 50
43 Notes, Apocrypha and Concordance	2 45	5
20 Maps and Plates for the coarse copies, 50 cts.		

Figure 2.2 Trade circular for Collins & Co.'s Family Quarto Bible, 1815, page one³⁴

³⁴ *Stereotype Edition of Collins's Quarto Family Bible, With Canne's Marginal References*. New York: Collins & Co., 1815. SY1815 no. 43, neg #90171d, New-York Historical Society. Photography © New-York Historical Society.

PRICES OF THE STEREOTYPE EDITION

OF COLLINS'S QUARTO FAMILY BIBLE,

With Canne's Marginal References,

ON SUPERFINE WOVE MEDIUM PAPER.

In handsome strong Sheep Binding.

No.		D.	C.
1	Old and New Testaments	7	50
2	with Apocrypha	8	50
3	Apocrypha and Concordance	9	00
4	Concordance	8	00
5	Ostervald's Notes	8	50
6	Ostervald's Notes and Concordance	9	00
7	Apocrypha, Ostervald's Notes and Concordance	10	00

Same Binding with Maps and Elegant Historical Engravings.

8	Old and New Testaments	9	00
9	with Apocrypha	10	
10	Apocrypha and Concordance	10	50
11	Concordance	9	50
12	Ostervald's Notes	10	
13	Ostervald's Notes and Concordance	10	50
14	Apocrypha, Ostervald's Notes and Concordance	11	50

Handsome Calf Binding without Maps and Engravings.

15	Old and New Testaments	8	50
16	Apocrypha	9	50
17	Apocrypha and Concordance	10	
18	Concordance	9	
19	Ostervald's Notes	9	50
20	Ostervald's Notes and Concordance	10	
21	Apocrypha, Ostervald's Notes and Concordance	11	

Same Binding with Maps and Elegant Historical Engravings.

22	Old and New Testaments	10	
23	Apocrypha	11	
24	Apocrypha and Concordance	11	50
25	Concordance	10	50
26	Ostervald's Notes	11	
27	Ostervald's Notes and Concordance	11	50
28	Apocrypha, Ostervald's Notes and Concordance	12	50

Elegant Calf Gilt, or Red Leather Gilt Bindings, with Maps and Elegant Historical Engravings.

29	Old and New Testaments	11	00
30	Apocrypha	12	
31	Apocrypha and Concordance	12	50
32	Concordance	11	50
33	Ostervald's Notes	12	
34	Ostervald's Notes and Concordance	12	50
35	Apocrypha, Ostervald's Notes and Concordance	13	50
36	Contains the same as in No. 35, but bound either in Russia, Morocco, or Extra Calf.	18	50

ON COMMON MEDIUM PAPER.

In strong Sheep Binding, without Maps or Engravings.

37	Old and New Testaments (not lettered)	3	50
38	Apocrypha (not lettered)	4	00
39	Apocrypha and Concordance	4	50
40	Concordance (not lettered)	4	00
41	Ostervald's Notes (not lettered)	4	00
42	Ostervald's Notes and Concordance	4	50
43	Apocrypha, Ostervald's Notes and Concordance	5	00

Same Binding, with Maps and Historical Engravings.

44	Old and New Testaments	4	50
45	Apocrypha	5	00
46	Apocrypha and Concordance	5	50
47	Concordance	5	00
48	Ostervald's Notes	5	00
49	Ostervald's Notes and Concordance	5	50
50	Apocrypha, Ostervald's Notes and Concordance	6	00

Figure 2.3 Trade circular for Collins & Co.'s Family Quarto Bible, 1815, page two³⁵

³⁵ *Stereotype Edition of Collins's Quarto Family Bible, With Canne's Marginal References.* New York: Collins & Co., 1815. SY1815 no. 43, neg #90171d, New-York Historical Society. Photography © New-York Historical Society.

the advantages for a publisher owning a set of plates were somewhat minimal. By establishing a relationship with a New York printer who owned a set of plates, Carey could obtain new stock whenever he wished on exchange without the worry of typing up a \$700 investment, either in standing type or in a set of plates. The text could be accessible anytime Carey wished to have a new quantity printed up from someone else's plates. He did maintain an advantage in owning his set of plates to establish market dominance between 1814 and 1816. But, after that period, Carey could control reprintings by making the proper arrangements with the new owners of the plates for jobbed or jointly-published editions.³⁶ Later on in the nineteenth century, issues of reprinting would be handled quite differently by Mathew's son Henry C. Carey for works under copyright protection. The younger Carey arranged multi-year copyright agreements with authors such as Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper and had plates cast of their works. After allowing sales from the first impressions of each work to pay for the cost of the plates, Henry Carey would subsequently make a steady, clear profit on later impressions during the period in which he held the copyright.³⁷

Mathew Carey's agreement with Mercein, however, did not proceed smoothly. More than one year after their initial agreement, late in 1817, Carey was forced to make arrangements with D. & G. Bruce to commission repairs to the New Testament plates they had cast for him three years before. Carey wrote to the Bruces in November: "We put our Testaments into the hands of a miscreant to print, who has most grossly abused it.

³⁶ Winship, "Printing with Plates," 26.

³⁷ James N. Green. "The Rise of Book Publishing" in Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley, eds. *An Extensive Republic. Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790-1840. A History of the Book in America*, Volume 2. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010: 107.

We wish it repaired completely & send you a copy of it for examination, that you may be able to state at what terms you w^d make the necessary repairs.”³⁸ The Bruces wrote him in December: “We would willingly bestow a few days work on your plates without charge; but if they are grossly abused it may be a tedious and costly operation to correct

PRINTED FOR M. CAREY, PHILADELPHIA.

THE HOUSE CARPENTER'S BOOK of PRICES, and Rules for Measuring and Valuing all their different kinds of work.
In 12mo. Price 75 cents, half bound.

THE IMMORTAL MENTOR; or, MAN'S UNERRING GUIDE to a Healthy, Wealthy and Happy life. In 3 parts.
By LEWIS CORNARO, Dr. FRANKLIN, and Dr. SCOTT.
Reason's whose pleasure, all the joys of sense
Lie in three words—Health, Peace, and Competence,
Blest health consists with temperance alone,
And Peace, O Virtue! peace is all thy own. *Pope.*
In 12mo. Price 1 dollar, bound.

A SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY through France and Italy.
By LAWRENCE STERNE.
With 6 Engravings. In 18mo. Price 63 cents, bound.

FARRIERY IMPROVED; or, a complete Treatise on the ART OF FARRIERY. Wherein are fully explained the Nature and Structure of that useful creature, a Horse; with the Diseases and accidents he is liable to; and the methods of cure. Exemplified by 10 elegant cuts, each the full figure of a Horse. Describing all the various parts of that noble animal.
By HENRY BRACKEN M. D.
In 18mo. Price 50 cents, half bound.

REGULATIONS for the ORDER and DISCIPLINE of the TROOPS of the UNITED STATES. By BARON STEUBEN.
With plates. Price 50 cents, half bound.

PRECEDENTS in the OFFICE of a JUSTICE of the PEACE.
By COLLINSON READ, Esq.
Foolscap 4to. Price 1 dollar, half bound.

THE CLERKS' MAGAZINE and AMERICAN CONVEYANCER'S ASSISTANT; being a collection adapted to the United States, of the most approved Precedents of Affidavits, Agreements, Covenants, Assignments, Awards, Bargains and Sales, Bonds, &c. &c. containing nearly double the number of such Precedents, usually inserted in similar publications.
By HARRY TOULMIN, Secretary of the State of Kentucky.
In 12mo. Price 1 dollar, bound.

AMERICAN CHRONOLOGY, from the DISCOVERY of the WESTERN WORLD till May 3, 1813. By THOMAS CLARK, Author of Naval History of the United States. In 24mo. Price 25 cents, in boards.

VOYAGES to LILLIPUT and BROBDINGNAG.
By LEMUEL GULLIVER.
In 18mo. with plates. Price 63 cents, half bound.

DIVINITY.

FAMILY BIBLES, QUARTO.
Coarse Paper, not lettered.

No.			
1.	Old and New Testaments,	-	\$ 3 75
2.	— and Psalms	-	4 00
3.	— and Apocrypha	-	4 25
4.	— Apocrypha and Psalms	-	4 50
	<i>Coarse Paper, lettered and filleted.</i>		
38.	Old and New Testaments, and Apocrypha	-	4 50
5.	— Apocrypha and 11 Plates	-	5 00
6.	— Apocrypha and 25 Plates	-	5 50
7.	— Apocrypha, 11 Plates, and Psalms	-	5 25

Figure 2.4 Mathew Carey's Bible list, March 1816, page one³⁹

³⁸ Mathew Carey to D. & G. Bruce, 29 November 1817, Lea & Febiger Records, Volume 32, HSP.

³⁹ Mathew Carey. *Modern Publications, and New Editions of Valuable Standard Works*. Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1816: 8. By permission of The Library Company of Philadelphia.

DIVINITY.		9
15. Old and New Testaments, Apocrypha and Concordance	-	5 25
16. ----- and Concordance	-	4 75
19. ----- Apocrypha, Concordance, 25 Plates, and Ostervald's Notes	} 7 00	
32. ----- Apocrypha and Psalms	-	4 75
33. ----- Apocrypha, Concordance, and 25 Plates	-	6 25
<i>Common Paper, filleted.</i>		
48. Old and New Testaments,	-	4 25
49. ----- and Apocrypha	-	4 75
<i>Common Paper, lettered and filleted.</i>		
18. Old and New Testaments,	-	4 50
17. ----- Apocrypha, Concordance, 25 Maps and Plates	-	7 50
25. ----- Apocrypha, Concordance, and 2 Maps	-	6 00
26. ----- and Apocrypha	-	5 00
27. ----- Apocrypha, Concordance, and 10 Maps	-	7 00
34. ----- Apocrypha, Concordance, 10 Maps, and Psalms	-	7 25
44. ----- Apocrypha, and 10 Plates	-	5 50
45. ----- Apocrypha, 10 Plates and Psalms	-	5 75
46. ----- Apocrypha, and 25 Plates	-	6 25
47. ----- Apocrypha, 25 Plates and Psalms	-	6 50
<i>Fine Paper.</i>		
8. Old and New Testaments,	-	6 00
9. ----- and Apocrypha	-	6 50
10. ----- Apocrypha, Concordance, and 2 Maps	-	7 50
11. ----- Apocrypha, Concordance, and 10 Maps	-	8 00
12. ----- Apocrypha, Concordance, and 25 Plates	-	8 50
13. ----- Apocrypha, Concordance, 25 Plates and Psalms	-	8 75
14. ----- Apocrypha, Concordance, 25 Maps and Plates, and Ostervald's Notes	} 9 50	
28. ----- Apocrypha, Concordance, 2 Maps, and Psalms	-	7 75
29. ----- Apocrypha, and Psalms	-	6 75
<i>Superfine Paper, bound in sheep.</i>		
21. Old and New Testaments, Apocrypha, Concordance, 25 Plates & Psalms	-	10 25
20. ----- Apocrypha, Concordance, 25 Maps and Plates, and Ostervald's Notes	} 11 00	
22. ----- Apocrypha, Concordance, and 25 Plates	-	10 00
30. ----- Apocrypha, Concordance, and 10 Maps	-	9 25
31. ----- Apocrypha, Concordance, 10 Maps and Psalms	-	9 50
35. ----- and Apocrypha	-	8 00
40. ----- Apocrypha, Concordance, and 70 Plates	-	12 50
<i>Superfine Paper, bound in Calf and Morocco.</i>		
23. Old and New Testaments, Apocrypha, Concor. and 25 plates, plain calf	-	11 50
24. ----- Morocco gilt	-	13 00
39. ----- calf extra	-	13 00
41. ----- Apocrypha, Concordance, and 70 plates, Morocco gilt	-	15 00
42. ----- calf extra	-	15 00
43. ----- calf extra, gilt edges	-	18 00
SCHOOL BIBLES 12mo. <i>Coarse Paper.</i>		
----- per doz.	-	1 00
----- with Psalms	-	1 13

Figure 2.5 Mathew Carey's Bible list, March 1816, page two⁴⁰

them. We shall charge you however no more than a reasonable compensation for the time bestowed upon them.”⁴¹ Mercein, with no prior experience printing from plates, had

⁴⁰ Mathew Carey. *Modern Publications, and New Editions of Valuable Standard Works*. Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1816: 9. By permission of The Library Company of Philadelphia.

evidently misjudged their height on the press and crushed parts of the type surface. In the same letter, D. & G. Bruce also gave Carey two offers:

About two years ago we introduced an improvement into our stereotype business by which our plates are produced of a uniform thickness, and consequently can be printed from without overlays. We have a set of New Testament plates on the same type as yours, with three lines more in a page and making but thirteen sheets, which, with 12 blocks, we would be willing to exchange for your set with 24 blocks if you will add \$250 at 6 months. We have lately stereotyped for the American Bible Society a Minion 12mo Bible, of which we enclose a proof. It makes thirty-five sheets. We have a set of it for sale, with 24 blocks; for which we would take \$2100 at 6 months.

The offer to exchange his damaged plates for \$250 was probably tempting, but Carey insisted that repairs to the damaged set of plates proceed instead. The offer of a duodecimo School Bible in plates to Carey, as a commercial publisher, and made from the same setting of type as the plates the Bruces had made for the nonprofit American Bible Society would have further complicated the market for cheap Bibles in the United States at this time. Carey, who already owned a standing type duodecimo Bible, and who would have been aware of the quantities being printed for distribution by the American Bible Society, wisely declined the offer.

Having received the damaged plates in early January 1818, the Bruces were dismayed at their condition, telling Carey they were in a much worse state than he initially led them to believe. The corrector they employed likewise expressed doubts as to their ability to be repaired. “We shall do what we can to serve you,” they wrote, “and hope that you will be satisfied in that respect. But we will hardly be able to forgive ourselves for engaging in so unpleasant and unprofitable a business as the rectification of three hundred battered plates, which, had they been our own, would certainly have been

⁴¹ D. & G. Bruce to Mathew Carey, 10 December 1817, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 103, HSP.

condemned to the pot.”⁴² In the autumn of 1818, Carey was still waiting for the repairs to be completed, and by this time was likely regretting his decision not to exchange his damaged set of plates for the Bruces’ new set. In November, Carey wrote to the Bruces informing them that he had sold his New Testament to another printer “& the purchaser is impatient to receive it.”⁴³ The repairs were still not complete by the end of the year. From the end of 1814, when he first took possession of his set of New Testament plates, until their final sale in early 1819, a published edition was never made from them. This episode shows the hazards and risks involved in owning a set of plates when most print shops in this country were not experienced in printing from them. Carey lost time and money on this set of plates and ended up cutting his losses and disposing of them without having ever seen a printed impression from them.

COMMISSIONING A STEREOTYPE FAMILY BIBLE

While his negotiations with the Bruces were ongoing in 1817-1818, Carey was also negotiating with D. & G. Collins and their stereotyping partnership, Collins & Hannay. He inquired in January 1817 about the availability of “stereotype woodcuts” for Bibles and Collins wrote back that they had some on hand and could sell him some at ten dollars each. They sent Carey two woodblocks for examination at his request. Carey brusquely wrote back in February, “The cuts are not worth a Dollar. I shall return

⁴² D. & G. Bruce to Mathew Carey, 4 January 1818, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 109, HSP.

⁴³ Mathew Carey to D. & G. Bruce, 24 November 1818, Lea & Febiger Records, Volume 34, HSP.

them.”⁴⁴ Might Carey have been testing Collins’s skill at reproducing images via the stereotype process? Occurring two years after the introduction of Collins’s Family Bibles, we may read this episode as a dismissal of Collins & Co. for the price and quality of their merchandise after they had backed out of a printing job with Carey because of his prices. Or perhaps Carey deliberately wanted to cast some doubt about the quality of their printed Bible illustrations while he continued to offer his own Bibles printed from standing type with engraved rather than woodcut illustrations. Collins wrote back on 15 February, having received Carey’s terse dismissal of their cuts:

We are surprised @ your famous Printers have not ingenuity sufficient to Print the Stereotype Cuts sent on; -- We can take off impressions without any difficulty & so will, that ’tis not easy to distinguish between those & impressions from the Wood cuts, & as a proof of this the impressions sent on with the Stereotype Cuts were taken from those very cuts in our office a few minutes before we sent them to you.⁴⁵

After this exchange, there is no extant correspondence between Carey and Collins for several months, which is unusual as they tended to correspond several times a month to exchange stock. Carey tended to make annual trips to New York on business at this point, so they may have met in person sometime that summer.

Their correspondence resumed in the autumn of 1817 with a more substantial offer. Collins wrote on 7 November,

We are offering @ 6000 dollars for our set of Quarto Bible Plates – including old & new test – apoc, tables, say 1144 Plates & Brown’s Concordance – Blocks & Boxes, also complete – but as it would raise another competitor in the Bible Printing, We should prefer selling them to you & would take your standing Bibles, as type metal, at 20 cents p. lb. – our Plates are none the worse for wear as you may observe by examining our Royal Quarto Bible at E. & R. Parkers or Thos.

⁴⁴ Mathew Carey to Collins & Co., 14 February 1817, Lea & Febiger Records, Volume 30, HSP.

⁴⁵ Collins & Co. to Mathew Carey, 15 February 1817, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 103, HSP.

DeSilvers store – we have not printed any Bibles since. – Another Bible in Phila would no doubt interfere somewhat with thine & if 'tis an object to accept our offer please write us same. – We paid 6000 dollars in Cash for our Plates.⁴⁶

This offer essentially repeated their first offer in 1815 of a stereotype Family Bible, which Carey had refused. With their own stock of Family Bibles for sale in at least two Philadelphia bookstores in addition to the New York market, why would Collins be offering to sell Carey their nearly three-year old plates, at cost? They either needed to raise capital or were planning to cast new sets of plates. Carey responded three days later with a refusal:

We cannot conceive how the idea c^d ever occur to you, that we w^d sacrifice our quarto Bible to the furnace, when it is but a fourth worn. We are so far from such an intent, that we w^d not exchange it for the stereotypes, without at least 3000 dollars difference & hardly that. If you sell in Phila we cannot help it. You have a right & we must meet the rivalry as well as we can.⁴⁷

And there the matter ended for several months.

Six months later, Benjamin Collins wrote to his brother Isaac in August 1818 that a letter arrived from Mathew Carey inquiring about a set of plates for a Pica Bible. Carey wanted to know how long it would take to cast, and “will you engage to cast but one set?”⁴⁸ Carey offered Collins half the cost in his own quarto Bibles at a one third discount off the trade price. Benjamin answered each of Carey’s initial questions in his letter to his brother. He wrote that it would take about four months to cast a Bible, and Carey could take delivery of it in parts to print from as the plates were made. Collins & Co. would keep their own set of plates but would not give Carey an exclusive set. They would take

⁴⁶ Collins & Co. to Mathew Carey, 7 November 1817, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 103, HSP.

⁴⁷ Mathew Carey to Collins & Co., 10 November 1817, Lea & Febiger Records, Volume 32, HSP.

⁴⁸ Benjamin Collins to Isaac Collins, 26 August 1818, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 109, HSP.

his Bibles as partial payment, but only at a 50 percent discount. Their price for the Bible would be \$4500 for the Old and New Testaments and Apocrypha. He also wrote, “Your contract with Watts was \$6 per page for a single set. At this rate it would cost more than \$6000.”⁴⁹ If Watts was doing the casting, as he had for their previous sets of plates, the cost for this Bible, in two copies, represented a substantial savings in the unit cost of making a plate, down to about \$4.50 from \$6.00 in only three years.

After refusing Collins & Co.’s existing set of quarto Bible plates, and with six months to think about it, Carey seemed at last interested in acquiring a complete stereotype Bible. Carey received the details of Collins & Co.’s offer and wrote back to inquire about the schedule for delivery of plates. He also wanted to keep the negotiations open “until next Wednesday, till the return of our H.C.C.,” Henry C. Carey, by this time his partner in the business of Carey & Son.⁵⁰

The deal was agreed to. Beginning in September 1818 and continuing for several months, Carey’s frequent correspondence with Collins is concerned only with the specifics of the Bible’s setting and production. Carey gave Collins exacting instructions for setting up his Bible, specifying typefaces, sizes and layout for each part of the book. His opinions would become even more exacting as page proofs begin to arrive in Philadelphia for his examination. Carey was concerned with the headers and how notes and references within the book were treated; he complained about the number of lines on each page and how the layout would not fit his standard paper stock. He conceded to giving up catch words in the book to save one line per page, as Collins thought them

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Mathew Carey to Collins & Co., 27 August 1818, Lea & Febiger Records, Volume 34, HSP.

costly and of little use, especially for their tendency to become more quickly damaged when a plate was stored and then removed from its box. To most of Carey's criticisms, Collins & Co. explained their rationale and noted how certain types of changes would be impossible due to the difficulty of correcting plates once they were cast; additional lines, Collins claimed, could not be added to a plate so it would print evenly.⁵¹ By the 1820s, correcting stereotype plates would become a more common practice.

By late October 1818, the first 250 plates had been cast. On 8 December, the first shipment of plates left New York on a ship bound for Philadelphia. Twelve boxes were sent, containing one fourth of Carey's quarto Bible, along with a bill of lading for \$1100. This would amount to about twenty-four plates per box, for a total of about 288 plates.⁵² The second shipment left New York on 9 February 1819. A third shipment of twelve boxes of plates left on 5 March, with the final shipment of twelve boxes of plates sent on 1 May 1819. Carey paid cash for all four shipments, including boxing and shipping, for a total of \$4535.75.⁵³ Carey was taking some risk in paying so much for a set of plates, especially as they only gave him a duplicate text to his own standing type Family Bible. But by owning the "Philadelphia set" of Collins's new Bible, he was able to prevent a third publisher from competing in the Family Bible business, and the work was composed mostly to his own standards. Collins's earlier Family Bible was already for sale in Philadelphia bookstores. Because publishers claimed that stereotype editions had a greater degree of textual accuracy, even if it was not usually the case, there was greater

⁵¹ Collins & Hannay to Mathew Carey, 15 October 1818, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 109, HSP.

⁵² Collins & Hannay to Mathew Carey, 8 December 1818, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 109, HSP.

⁵³ Collins & Hannay to Mathew Carey, 1 May 1819, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 115, HSP.

interest in them as being somehow newer and more innovative. Carey could then claim his Bible plates were the newest and the most accurate on the market, surpassing Collins & Co.'s older edition that was then being sold in Philadelphia. By the spring of 1819, Carey had his own Family Bible in plates. He would not print from it immediately, as he was still producing impressions from his existing standing type Bible.

After committing to purchase the Bible, Carey would have been naturally concerned about any new challengers to the Bible business. Early in 1819, he asked Thomas Kirk, a bookseller in New York, to quietly make inquiries on the state of the Bible business in that city, especially concerning rumors that another stereotype Bible was being commissioned by the bookseller Daniel D. Smith. Kirk wrote back that he made inquiries and was convinced that Smith had not commissioned a set of plates. Kirk noted that he spoke with the foreman of the stereotype foundry, and the project with which Smith was rumored to be associated had not been undertaken.⁵⁴ Smith was a general interest publisher and bookseller of schoolbooks, Bibles, Testaments, and other steady-sellers. He had published an edition of Walker's *Pronouncing Dictionary* in 1818 that had been stereotyped by the New York firm of E. White.⁵⁵ Consequently, he would have been a good candidate to invest in a Family Bible if New York stereotypers were beginning to produce more sets of plates. And in fact, Kirk's message to Carey was incorrect: Smith published a quarto Bible in 1820 from plates made by E. White that

⁵⁴ Thomas Kirk to Mathew Carey, 30 January 1819, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 118, HSP.

⁵⁵ John Walker. *An Abridgement of Walker's Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language*. New-York: Stereotyped by E. & J. White and C. Starr for D. D. Smith, 1818. Shaw-Shoemaker 46677.

directly competed with both Carey's and Collins's editions.⁵⁶ The New York Bible business was increasingly complex, and Carey in Philadelphia could not muster the correct intelligence from so far away to maintain his former competitive advantage.

By 1820, the United States Bible market was booming. That same year, the Brattleboro, Vermont firm of Holbrook & Fessenden, general publishers and booksellers and early adopters of stereotype printing, published a trade circular listing their own Family Bible in fifteen different variants on the Carey and Collins model: on coarse, fine, and superfine papers, ranging from \$3.50 to \$18.00, and with additional options for adding a set of the Psalms and Ostervald's *Notes* to each set for an additional sum, for a total of 51 possible variants.⁵⁷

Mathew Carey visited New York in the summer of 1820 and spoke with the Bruces about stereotype plates to editions of Horace and Cicero. They sent a letter to him in Philadelphia soon after his visit, quoting the price of \$3467 for both works, boxed and with blocks on which to mount them for printing. They also noted their own work on this set of plates,

It is proper to inform you that these works have been remodelled; and the notes, which formerly interrupted the text are now entirely to the bottom of the pages. By this alteration, and something in the proportions of the pages, a considerable saving is made. Horace, with an Index of 60 pages of Nonpareil, makes but one sheet less than your editions without the indexes. Cicero, with the same matter, makes 144 pages less than the old editions.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, Together With the Apocrypha*. New York: D. D. Smith, 1820.

⁵⁷ *Holbrook & Fessenden's Cash and Exchange List, for 182-*. Brattleboro: Holbrook & Fessenden, 1820. In Lea & Febiger Records, Box 124, HSP.

⁵⁸ D. & G. Bruce to Mathew Carey, 26 August 1820, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 122, HSP.

Carey did not immediately agree to this offer, and by August, upon his recommendation, the Bruces sold the Cicero to Thomas A. Ronaldson of Philadelphia. Carey held off on the Horace, asking for proofs before making any commitments. In September, Carey agreed to buy a set of plates to the Virgil from the Bruces for \$3400, boxed, and with blocks and copperplate engravings. They also noted having an impression of 750 copies of the Virgil just printed, except for title pages, which they could also offer. Carey agreed to buy the 750 printed Virgils as well, for \$585, or 78 cents each, on 9 September 1820. In October, he asked the Bruces to create a stereotype plate for the title page to his new Virgil and to print 250 copies of it to be added to his edition. This would have satisfied Carey's immediate sales needs for 250 copies under his own imprint and permitted him time to either print up title pages for the remaining 500 copies or sell them on to another bookseller.

Also in October, Carey struck an agreement with the Bruces to have plates made of the Psalms to add to his quarto Bible. A set, in Bourgeois type, was made for him for \$180. The decision to purchase the Horace in plates was delayed until 1821. On 9 April, they wrote to Carey that they had 750 copies of the Horace printed, 50 of them bound, that together with the set of plates to it, which had not yet sold, and which they would value at \$2800. They added, "This is less than 3000 copies of the same book would cost in the common way of printing and must be desirable property to those who would wish to publish the work."⁵⁹ Carey quickly agreed to the purchase price on 11 April. The Bruces agreed to his suggestion that they could receive partial payment in old type. Carey initially offered half, but settled for one third in old type, to which the Bruces agreed.

⁵⁹ D. & G. Bruce to Mathew Carey, 9 April 1821, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 131, HSP.

Carey asked that they ship the plates in three or four vessels “so as to divide the risk.”⁶⁰

The Bruces shipped the plates to Philadelphia on 2 May 1821. Mathew Carey now owned the stereotype plates to four books: Murray’s English Grammar; his Family Bible; a Virgil; and a Horace. Counting his New Testament, he had owned five works in plates up to this point, one of the largest collections by a publisher in the United States.

In March 1821, almost two years after receiving his final shipment of Bible plates, Carey wrote to Collins & Hannay: “On examining the Stereotype plates of the Quarto Bible which we purchased from you we find there are no Blocks with them, which is usual, we presume you intended to send. We request you will be so good to supply this deficiency as soon as possible.”⁶¹ Carey had been warehousing the 50 boxes of stereotype plates to his quarto Bible since the spring of 1819, where they apparently remained unexamined. Carey continued to negotiate with Collins & Hannay over the spring of 1821 about the blocks and about the lack of an index to the Bible, which he assumed would have been included with the plates. An indication of greater problems occurred later in June, when Carey requested six to eight pounds of Pica type from Collins & Hannay, “to correct the text of the Stereotype Bible which appears to have been very carelessly packed.”⁶² One week later he increased his request to 30 pounds of type, “there being sundry battered & defective letters in it. We are informed that some errors have been discovered in the Bible furnished Collins & Co.—pray let us have immediate

⁶⁰ Mathew Carey to D. & G. Bruce, 17 April 1821, Lea & Febiger Records, Volume 38, HSP.

⁶¹ Mathew Carey to Collins & Hannay, 22 March 1821, Lea & Febiger Records, Volume 37, HSP.

⁶² Mathew Carey to Collins & Hannay, 12 June 1821, Lea & Febiger Records, Volume 38, HSP.

information of this that we may have them corrected before the Edition is worked off.”⁶³

Collins & Hannay replied that they took proofs of every plate before boxing and sending them on, so they had no knowledge of improper fabrication. Henry C. Carey had visited their New York foundry when the Bible was being cast and had stated that the plates he saw were of good quality and were not found wanting, so they did not believe there was any reason for complaint.⁶⁴

Carey had been thinking about printing from his Bible plates at least as early as March 1821, when Collins had written to him that they were putting a new edition of the quarto Bible to press from a newly-cast set of plates. He wrote to Thomas Kirk in New York about his ideas in March and April, attempting to enlist his assistance as an agent for procuring subscriptions. Later that summer, in negotiating Kirk’s commission, his plan became clear:

We find we cannot afford a commission for procuring subscribers higher than 12 1/2 Dols. & the same for supplying them. You will be pretty well convinced of this if you make a few calculations. The Binding alone of the 50 Dollar Bible is to be 18 Dollars. This with 12.50 for procuring subs it will leave but 19.50 for plates, paper, printing, etc. You will have the best of the Bargain.⁶⁵

Carey goes on to say that his profits from the first edition will be negligible, but he would be willing to offer 33 1/3 percent commissions on future editions. Carey’s proposed edition, priced at an astronomical 50 dollars, would have been more than twice the price of his previous most expensive edition, and more than twice the price of Collins’s or any other Family Bible available at this time. Carey must have believed there was a market

⁶³ Mathew Carey to Collins & Hannay, 18 June 1821, Lea & Febiger Records, Volume 38, HSP.

⁶⁴ Collins & Hannay to Mathew Carey, 10 November 1821, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 131, HSP.

⁶⁵ Mathew Carey to Thomas Kirk, 28 August 1821, Lea & Febiger Records, Volume 38, HSP.

for such a new luxury product, even in a United States still recovering from the economic downturns caused by the Panic of 1819, sufficient at least to make a major statement with such an elaborate and costly edition, even if it was only to pay for itself and not generate significant profits. Carey's luxury Bible could distinguish him from the numerous other Family Bible publishers now competing for Bible business. Kirk agreed to Carey's terms and awaited a specimen to show to potential New York subscribers. Kirk was an experienced subscription agent for Carey, selling Carey's edition of Lavoisne's *Atlas* and a set of Common Law Reports for him in New York.

In September, Carey sent out prospectuses for two different stereotype Bibles, his 50 dollar "Splendid Bible," as it was now called, and a more modest one. But one month later, Carey changed his mind and abandoned the prospect of a 50 dollar Bible. Kirk wrote back to him agreeing that the new, scaled-down version "presents a better prospect of success."⁶⁶ Kirk then sent a fateful letter to Carey on 27 November about the state of subscriptions for the Bible and Lavoisne. He said that subscriptions had been less than he expected: "To almost every application to subscribe for the Bible the answer has been, by some, that the pretense of the times would not permit the expense and of others, that they already had several Bibles and some of them sufficiently elegant."⁶⁷ The Family Bible market, especially for deluxe editions, appeared to be saturated.

After Carey published his trade circular announcing his new stereotype Family Bible, J. & J. Harper of New York, at the time newly-established job printers and not yet publishers, sent Carey a letter inquiring about their printing it for him. They stated they

⁶⁶ Thomas Kirk to Mathew Carey, 28 October 1821, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 134, HSP.

⁶⁷ Thomas Kirk to Mathew Carey, 27 November 1821, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 134, HSP.

had the most experience in New York printing from stereotype plates, and had even printed Collins's Family Bible, which was made from the same impression as Carey's, thus making them the best firm for the job. Tellingly, and perhaps remembering the stories surrounding Carey's experience allowing T. & W. Mercein to damage his New Testament plates in 1816, they concluded with: "Should you think proper to favour us with the Printing of your Bible, we will expect to return you the Plates free from Bruises, one evil which inexperience so often meets with."⁶⁸ In the end, and after further delays, Carey would turn down their offer and print his Bible in Philadelphia.

As Carey began to make further preparations for bringing out the edition, he discovered that the plates had become damaged at some point. He sent a long letter to William Collins in January 1822, laying out their responsibilities for making reparations to his damaged plates: "a very large portion of the plates which we have rec^d are unmerchantable....The injury we suffer from the delay which accrues out of this affair is very great."⁶⁹ Collins agreed to send replacement plates where needed and to allow a third party to examine them in order to ascertain their state of repair. Their negotiations went on through the spring and summer of 1822, further postponing Carey's announced plans to bring out his Bible. Collins and Carey sparred back and forth during this time, each accusing the other of breaking verbal agreements and promises the other claimed not to remember. At the lowest point in the negotiations, Collins wrote a long, anguished letter to Carey itemizing all their disagreements and concluding as follows: "We cannot pass over your letter of the 3rd without indignation. That you should remark opposite 90

⁶⁸ J. & J. Harper to Mathew Carey, 16 November 1821, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 133, HSP.

⁶⁹ Mathew Carey to William Collins, 21 January 1822, Lea & Febiger Records, Volume 39, HSP.

plates “Very Bad” & insinuate in a subsequent remark that they are so bad as to be irreparable is too insulting to our feelings to permit it being passed by in silence.”⁷⁰

Three days later, they sent a more temperate letter, agreeing to waive some of the disputed charges and to make the necessary repairs to the plates. William Collins also sent a personal note of apology on behalf of his brothers, stating that proofs for the required replacement plates would be made from Collins’s own set and then replaced in Carey’s set.⁷¹ The repairs were made and the replacement plates delivered to Carey that spring and summer. The experience of correcting his damaged Bible plates caused Carey a delay of one year in his production plans for his Stereotype Family Bible. Carey finally brought out his edition in 1823, four years after taking ownership of the plates. It would be the only stereotype Bible printed by Carey & Son and its successor firms. Carey & Son would also print one more impression of their Family Bible from standing type in 1824. By this time, the United States Family Bible market had completely changed from the one which Carey had controlled earlier in the century. Many competitors now brought out similar or cheaper editions across the country, and the American Bible Society was successfully carrying out its mission to distribute inexpensive copies of the Bible to all parts of the United States. Carey & Son would abandon the Bible business entirely in 1824 and print no more editions of scripture. Carey’s experiences in negotiating the newly-emergent marketplace in stereotype plates show the hazards, risks, and rewards that were possible in being an early adopter of this new technology. To be successful required choosing the correct works, the correct typefounder, and the correct printers. Even so, delays in shipping, production, and textual correction made moving from

⁷⁰ Collins & Co. to Mathew Carey, 8 June 1822, Lea & Febiger Records, Box 143, HSP.

⁷¹ William Collins to Mathew Carey, n.d., Lea & Febiger Records, Box 143, HSP.

standing type to stereotype printing only possible for a small number of well-capitalized publishers in the 1810s, and then not for the faint of heart. As an experienced publisher, Carey managed to successfully delay the inevitable loss of market share as best he could for a few years, but ultimately the family Bible marketplace grew larger than he could control.

CHAPTER 3

“SPIRITUAL MACHINERY”: THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY AND THE MECHANISMS OF LARGE-SCALE PRINTING IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the spring of 1829, the American Bible Society (ABS) took stock of its assets in anticipation of setting an unprecedented new goal. The society already had the largest publishing house in the United States, and its plans for the construction of Bible House, its new offices and manufacturing headquarters on Nassau Street in lower Manhattan were proceeding apace. The primary mission of the society, to “furnish a supply of correct and well-made Bibles and Testaments for the use of our own country” had by all accounts been successful, year after year, to the extent that it reported the total issue from its presses at 1,767,736 volumes since its founding thirteen years earlier in 1816.¹ After an inquiry from its board of managers, Daniel Fanshaw, the society’s printer, reported back that his eight power presses and staff of twenty could print 291,000 Bibles or a combination of 398,000 Bibles and New Testaments per year at the current capacity. Four more power presses had already been ordered. When installed, they would increase his production capacity to 421,200 Bibles or 580,000 Bibles and New Testaments per year.

¹ *A Brief View of the Plan and Operations of the American Bible Society, and of Kindred Institutions Throughout the World*. New York: American Bible Society, 1829: 2.

The secretary of the standing committee of managers, a group of five members of the board charged with the care and oversight of the society's property and assets, later reported, "Mr. Fanshaw has now in operation 8 power presses and by the 1st of August will have 8 more. 16 power presses in addition to these must be provided in order to obtain the maximum of work in the proposed new building." With 32 power presses, the Society would have more in place under one roof than anywhere else in the United States. With sixteen, Fanshaw further estimated being able to produce 518,400 Nonpareil Bibles or 680,000 books of scripture per year.

After thirteen years of being in the publishing business, the American Bible Society had the production and distribution infrastructure in place to attempt something unprecedented: what they called a "General Supply" of Bibles to the nation. They resolved "to supply all the destitute families in the United States with the holy Scriptures, that may be willing to purchase or receive them, within the space of two years."² The technological revolution taking place in the early republic that Tocqueville witnessed and commented upon would be employed here, in the New York printing trades, to further the evangelical aims of a national organization such as the American Bible Society, which was confident they could accomplish a true General Supply.³ "While other ambitious men and women of letters worked 'to build a new Athens in America,'" during the early

² *Annual Reports of the American Bible Society*. Vol. I. New York: The Society, 1838: 442. Minutes of the Standing Committee of the Managers, RG #4.03, 5 March 1829, p. 97. American Bible Society Archives. *Brief View of the American Bible Society*, 4.

³ From chapter XIX, "What Causes Almost All Americans to Follow Industrial Callings:" "What astonishes me in the United States is not so much the marvelous grandeur of some undertakings as the innumerable multitude of small ones....The Americans make immense progress in productive industry, because they all devote themselves to it at once." Alexis de Toqueville. *Democracy in America*. Volume 2. New York: Vintage Classics, 1990: 156-157.

republic, Michael Paulus has written, “theological authors effectively exploited innovations in the production and dissemination of printed materials and looked for the establishment of a new Jerusalem.”⁴ The ABS was in the best possible position to meet this unprecedented goal. By the end of the 1820s, “the society’s New York operation was one of the largest and most highly-capitalized publishing houses in the country, virtually monopolizing the production of inexpensive Bibles in the United States.” In the two years following the General Supply announcement, the society increased its total fifteen-year output to 1.3 million Bibles, this in a nation of only about three million households.⁵

This chapter explores the publishing practices of the ABS as it printed cheap Bibles and New Testaments in the years leading up to the General Supply, especially as it commissioned and amassed stereotype plates to augment its power presses. The ABS innovated, not only in these areas, but in other aspects of printing as well. They purchased the first rubber inking rollers for their hand presses; they were early purchasers of domestic machine-made paper; and they financed the first use of steam-powered printing in New York City. The society’s managers, a group of the city’s professional and mercantile elite, were not hesitant to harness new technologies to further their civic and evangelical aims. By looking closely at the society’s decisions to employ new technologies in their printing work, we can better understand the newly-emergent marketplace in stereotype plates, the hazards, risks, and rewards of being early adopters of new printing technologies, and the ways in which the ABS’s calculated growth and

⁴ Michael J. Paulus, Jr. “Archibald Alexander and the Use of Books: Theological Education and Print Culture in the Early Republic.” *Journal of the Early Republic* 31 (Winter 2011): 639-669. David Paul Nord. “The Evangelical Origins of Mass Media in America, 1815-1835.” *Journalism Monographs* 88, May 1984: 19.

⁵ David Paul Nord. *Faith in Reading: Religious Publishing and the Birth of Mass Media in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004: 66-67.

innovation served as models for the large-scale commercial publishers who would emerge in the United States by midcentury.

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The American Bible Society was founded in 1816 from a coordinated effort by local and regional Bible societies to amalgamate into a national organization for more effective evangelization. They had several models from which to draw lessons. The British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), founded in London in 1804, was a correspondent and active supporter of their early work. The Methodist Book Concern, founded in New York in 1789, was the first publishing house in America to “initiate the systematic printing and distribution of evangelical books.”⁶ Their Bibles, hymnals, medical advice books and shorter tracts were printed and successfully distributed across the nation, inspiring other denominations and organizations to do likewise. The first local and regional Bible societies in the United States were founded after 1808 and operated primarily as local charities, purchasing Bibles and New Testaments and distributing them to those without copies in their locale at a modest cost or even for free as a “tool of evangelization.”⁷ At least two “African Bible societies” had formed by 1816, in Philadelphia and Newark, for the purpose of supplying scriptures exclusively to poor

⁶ Candy Gunter Brown. *The Word in the World: Evangelical Writing, Publishing, and Reading in America, 1789-1880*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004: 46.

⁷ John Fea. *The Bible Cause: A History of the American Bible Society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016: 11.

African-American communities.⁸ Many evangelical groups' activities were heightened with a deeper sense of purpose following Jefferson's election to the Presidency in 1800, as fears that Jefferson's deism and the residual effects of Thomas Paine's atheism would influence national policy and the country's orientation. To counter the threat of secularism, the work of evangelicals, many of whom had conservative, Federalist leanings, was pushed toward creating private associations and initiatives to counter these new perceived threats. In what seemed like hard times to them, their work would effectively launch the first forms of mass media in the United States through their efforts to centralize the production and distribution of religious literature.⁹

In 1812, four years after its founding and after three years of serious intent and fundraising, the Philadelphia Bible Society ordered a complete set of stereotype plates to the Bible from the British and Foreign Bible Society's typefounder in London, having raised \$3500 for the purchase. The plates arrived in the United States in October, months after the outbreak of war with Great Britain. A edition of 1,250 copies was quickly struck off, making this edition the first Bible printed from plates in the United States.¹⁰ The

⁸ The Newark society was officially called "The Bible Society of Coloured People in Newark and its Vicinity" and was chartered in the summer of 1816. See *The Christian Herald* 1 (26), 21 September 1816: 413. These and later societies would eventually become auxiliaries of the ABS.

⁹ Nord, "Evangelical Origins of Mass Media." Elias Boudinot wrote in his 1801 *The Age of Revelation* about being shocked in seeing that "thousands of copies of *The Age of Reason* had been sold at public auction, in this city [Philadelphia], at a cent and half each, whereby children, servants, and the lowest people, had been tempted to purchase..." This sight led him to found the New Jersey Bible Society and later organize for a national organization. See Elias Boudinot. *The Age of Revelation*. Philadelphia: Asbury Dickens, 1801: 3.

¹⁰ David Paul Nord. "Benevolent Capital: Financing Evangelical Book Publishing in Early Nineteenth-Century America," in Mark A. Noll, ed. *God and Mammon: Protestants, Money, and the Market, 1790-1860*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002: 147-170. Margaret Hills. *The English Bible in America: A Bibliography of Editions*

Philadelphia society, one of the largest in America, recognized early on that owning a set of stereotype plates would allow them to print as many copies of the Bible as were needed at any one time, and that the great investment in the plates would constitute a long-term strategy to distribute newly-printed Bibles for years, if not decades, to come. By 1816, they would claim over 55,000 Bibles and New Testaments printed, eventually from multiple sets of acquired plates.¹¹ While raising funds for their first set of plates, the Philadelphia society also purchased Bibles for distribution among the needy in Pennsylvania and Maryland and even supplied Bibles to ships bound for Canton and, in small quantities, for distribution amongst literate slaves in Virginia.¹² Following the Philadelphia model, new Bible societies quickly sprung up in American cities and towns. By 1816, there were more than 100 independent societies in the United States.¹³ The Baltimore Bible Society, founded in 1810, determined in 1814 to “procure from London, as soon as the relations of amity between this country and Great Britain shall, through divine goodness, be restored, a set of octavo stereotype plates of the Bible for the use of the society.” Two years later, they owned their own set, which they would later sell to the ABS. The New York Bible Society decided in 1809 not to commission and import a set of plates from Britain because of “delay, expense, and uncertainty,” instead ordering

of the Bible and the New Testament Published in America, 1777-1957. New York: American Bible Society and New York Public Library, 1961: 37.

¹¹ David Paul Nord. “Free Grace, Free Books, Free Riders: The Economics of Religious Publishing in Early Nineteenth-Century America.” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 106 (2), October 1996: 241-272; note 10. Bible Society of Philadelphia. *Eighth Annual Report*. Philadelphia: Bible Society of Philadelphia, 1816: 3-4.

¹² *The First Report of the Bible Society Established in Philadelphia; Read Before the Society at their Annual Meeting, May 1, 1809*. Philadelphia: Bible Society of Philadelphia, 1809: 6.

¹³ P. Marion Simms. *The Bible in America: Versions That Have Played Their Part in the Making of the Republic*. New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1936: 162.

2,000 Bibles from a Hartford printer. They would acquire their first set of plates in 1815, ones cast in New York, and which they would then offer to the ABS the following year.¹⁴ Individual Protestant denominations also maintained their own publishing businesses, the largest being the Methodist Book Concern, founded in 1789. By the second decade of the nineteenth-century, writes David Paul Nord, of these hundreds of Bible, missionary, and tract societies that sprung up in America after 1800, “by 1815 their leaders had begun to dream the dream of mass communication—that is, they imagined placing the same printed message into the hands of everyone in America.”¹⁵ The casting of stereotype plates, which was first successfully accomplished in the United States in 1813, was the perfect vehicle for allowing this sort of large-scale uniform mass media production and distribution to take place.

The idea of an amalgamation of regional and city Bible societies into a national organization was not without its critics. When the delegates from 35 regional societies met in New York in May 1816 to discuss creating a national organization, representatives of the Philadelphia society and several others chose not to attend, arguing that any national organization would prevent local decision-making on issues of both production and distribution. Despite this hesitation, the delegates to the convention were enthusiastic to form a national body. The driving vision of its organizer Elias Boudinot, president of the New Jersey Bible Society and former president of the Continental Congress, came to pass as 22 vice presidents were chosen from across the country and included among them many of the country’s most influential citizens. John Jay of New York, Charles

¹⁴ Bernard C. Steiner. *One Hundred and Ten Years of Bible Society Work in Maryland, 1810-1920*. Baltimore: n.p., 1921: 16. Nord, *Faith in Reading*, 51.

¹⁵ Nord, *Faith in Reading*, 5.

Coatesworth Pinckney of South Carolina, Isaac Shelby of Kentucky, and Bushrod Washington of Virginia all agreed to serve. Also present at the founding were James Fenimore Cooper (representative of the Otsego County Bible Society), Connecticut preacher Lyman Beecher, and Jedidiah Morse, the Massachusetts theologian and geographer.

The treasurer, Richard Varick, was a former mayor of New York and speaker of the state assembly. DeWitt Clinton, governor of New York, also agreed to serve. The society's board of managers, separate from the more symbolic group of vice presidents, was populated locally with a representative selection of 36 members of the rising New York mercantile class, businessmen and lawyers who saw the work of the society and their own work as joined together for a common purpose. By being involved in public life through the work of an interdenominational Christian charity like the ABS, these men saw themselves as uniquely qualified to advance social reform in the country and their communities while also doing God's work.¹⁶ Having a focus exclusively on producing and distributing Christian scripture also provides evidence of what Candy Gunter Brown suggests as a confluence between the religious and commercial culture of the early republic, a part of the market revolution that was enacted in the not-for-profit sphere. The aims of organizations such as the ABS provided a "close connection between religious and commercial meanings" found within Protestant evangelical circles at the time.¹⁷ David Paul Nord situates organizations such as the ABS and later groups such as the American Tract Society and American Sunday School Union firmly into what historians

¹⁶ Peter J. Wosh. "Bibles, Benevolence, and Bureaucracy: The Changing Nature of Nineteenth Century Religious Records. *The American Archivist* 52 (2) Spring 1989: 166-178.

¹⁷ Brown, *The Word in the World*, 28.

call the “market revolution” of the post-1815 United States, but with a not-for-profit orientation. These groups were national in outlook, “wedded to commerce and infatuated by new technology.”¹⁸ This is the “spiritual machinery” of my title, as the anonymous author of a “Review of the Character and Claims of the American Bible Society” commented in 1847,

For as things now go, we are continually in the leading strings of a spiritual machinery, and made to go and act according to its bidding, instead of the old fashioned method of doing noiselessly and without solicitation, what our judgment approved of and conscience dictated.¹⁹

As religious-oriented publishers, they saw themselves as “countering the errors of the secular press and rival religious denominations by proclaiming pure gospel truth.”²⁰

Headquartering the newly-founded organization in New York City was never in question. Elias Boudinot wrote at the time that “New York is fast becoming the London of America, and already possesses facilities for correspondence with and transportation to all parts of our own and other countries.” New York was also “the American incubator of technological innovation in the art of printing. For Bible work, the most important

¹⁸ Nord, *Faith in Reading*, 62. On the market revolution, see Charles Sellers. *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1840*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991 and Melvyn Stoeks and Stephen Conway, eds. *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political, and Religious Expressions, 1800-1880*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996.

¹⁹ “Review of the Character and Claims of the American Bible Society” *The Quarterly Journal of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*. 16 (3), July 1847: 373-398 (quoted 376). While generally lauding their good efforts, the anonymous author of this article argued that independent religious publishing organizations such as the American Bible Society must ultimately subordinate themselves to church authority as servants, not as allies, in changing times. By 1847, the ABS had long been translating the Bible into foreign languages and sending printed books abroad. Its translations were overseen by a committee of representatives from the major Protestant denominations.

²⁰ Brown, *The Word in the World*, 52.

innovation was stereotyping.”²¹ New York was already the largest city in the United States by 1810 and was quickly becoming its commercial center. In the 1820s, all the technological advances that would take place in the printing trades were put to their first successful commercial uses in New York, so much so that the members of the society, when looking back at their initial successes of the 1820s, considered it the work of providence that they were guided to organize themselves and their work when and where they did.

The ABS took a deliberately ecumenical stance, at least between the several Protestant denominations of its founders. Written into its constitution was a mission to “encourage a wider circulation of the Holy Scripture without note or comment.” And while most attendees of the founding convention were from established mainstream Protestant denominations, small numbers of Quakers, Baptists, and one Methodist were represented as well.²² As a sign of encouragement, within the first year of its founding, letters of support arrived from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America and the General Convention of the Baptist Church as well.²³

One of the primary motivations for the delegates gathering in New York in the spring of 1816 to form a national body was the potential for large-scale production of Bibles made possible by the new technology of stereotyping. Other Bible societies took notice of the example of the Bible Society of Philadelphia and were already attempting to

²¹ Quoted in Nord, *Faith in Reading*, 65. Nord, “Benevolent Books,” 230. See also William Jay. *A Memoir on the Subject of a General Bible Society for the United States of America, By a Citizen of the State of New-York*. Burlington, NJ: n.p., 1816.

²² Creighton Lacy. *The Word Carrying Giant: The Growth of the American Bible Society (1816-1966)*. South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1977: 10, 33.

²³ Henry Otis Dwight. *The Centennial History of the American Bible Society*. New York: Macmillan, 1916: 33.

obtain their own sets of plates. The successful work of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) was a clear model for a similar American organization. As Leslie Howsam has written about the BFBS, “These merchants, lawyers, and businessmen did not hesitate to risk an untried technology” to accomplish their goals.²⁴ The same was true for the American leaders of the ABS. Because of the great costs involved, amalgamating into a national organization with centralized production that would leave distribution up to regional auxiliary societies made perfect sense. The vote to incorporate passed without incident. In the United States, religious publishing bodies such as the ABS were “among the earliest adopters of advances in papermaking, stereotyping, power presses, and centralized mass production.”²⁵ By applying a commercial mindset towards the work of evangelizing, religious organizations such as the ABS, using earlier models from the Methodists and the BFBS, were able to take on a commercial form as not-for-profit businesses.²⁶

At the society’s third meeting, and before it even had even drafted a constitution, the ABS received a letter from Albany printer and publisher E. F. Bakus, “offering to the Board a set of stereotype plates for an octavo edition of the Bible which was referred to Messrs. J. E. Caldwell & D. Bethune.”²⁷ John Caldwell and Divie Bethune, both New York businessmen on the board of managers, were charged to follow up with Bakus

²⁴ Leslie Howsam. *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century Publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991: 79.

²⁵ Paulus, “Archibald Alexander,” 653.

²⁶ For market forces and the rise of Methodism in the United States, see John H. Wigger. *Taking Heaven By Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, and Nathan O. Hatch and John H. Wigger. “Introduction” in Hatch and Wigger, eds. *Methodism and the Shaping of American Culture*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2001.

²⁷ Minutes of the Board of Managers, RG# 4.012, 5 June 1816, p. 5. American Bible Society Archives.

about his terms. They reported back that the Bible on offer from Albany contained 1171 pages, including the Apocrypha, and was priced at \$3911.40, or about \$3.34 per plate. Caldwell and Bethune concluded that the type size was too small and that the book would be more useful if it were one size larger. The Apocrypha was not needed, but could not be removed to lower the cost. Knowing this, they made further inquiries in New York and reported that a “skillful stereotype founder” had made them an offer for an octavo Bible in the larger type size that would run to 960 pages, and for a lesser sum than that offered by Bakus.²⁸ As the Apocrypha and other added parts to the Bible such as commentaries, historical notes, and illustrations were not thought necessary to the ABS’s mission to spread the word “without note or comment,” this alternative was considerably more attractive as a candidate for the society’s first purchase of a set of plates. The typefounder in question, Elihu White, also managed in his makeup to save two sheets of paper per copy for the work, even in the larger font, thus potentially saving considerable amounts of paper and presswork over time. In their report back to the board of managers, Caldwell and Bethune wrote:

It is further to be observed, that if the Board contemplate having more than one set of plates it would be a great saving to have them done at the same time. If, for instance, two sets of plates are to be cast, they would each cost upwards of \$600. less than one; & if there are three, each would cost upwards of \$800. less per set than one.

An impression of a page, from a plate cast for the purpose accompanies this report.

Three sets of plates for the Bible, of which this is a specimen, would cost, each set 2,500 Dollars, one or two of them might be sold to the trade for 33 to 3400 Dollars each.²⁹

²⁸ Board of Managers Minutes, 5 June 1816, p. 6.

²⁹ Board of Managers Minutes, 5 June 1816, p. 6-7.

With these calculated recommendations in hand, the managers declined Bakus's offer and set aside a fixed sum of \$7500 to obtain new sets of octavo Bible plates in New York instead. Even at this early date, the society was thinking about questions of scale and the efficiencies of having multiple sets of plates from which to print. There were three firms in New York City able to cast stereotype plates at this time: D. & G. Bruce, typefounders and stereotypers; Collins & Co., printers and typefounders; and Elihu White & Co., who made Campbell and Bethune the above offer. All three would remain in close contact with the ABS in the years to come, competing with each other for the society's business.³⁰

At the same meeting, the managers directed the secretary for domestic correspondence to reply to a request for Bibles from the New York Female Auxiliary Bible Society. With the society only two months old, he was directed to decline their request on the grounds that the society's attention and funds were first being directed to "procuring good stereotype plates & that therefore it will not be in the power of the Society at present to furnish them with Bibles."³¹ Rather than beginning to purchase Bibles wholesale for distribution to its auxiliary societies around the country, the ABS in its first year of work focused exclusively on securing stereotype plates to begin their own publishing operations. The large quantities of impressions able to be made from stereotype plates made them ideally suited to the ABS's large-scale production goals. The scale at which the ABS wanted to produce Bibles was unprecedented in America, surpassing by far the total output of the Philadelphia Bible Society, which in its first four

³⁰ Eric M. North. "The Production and Supply of Scriptures Part I, 1816-1820." A.B.S. Historical Essay #18, 1963: 1. Copy in the American Bible Society Library and Archives.

³¹ Board of Managers Minutes, 5 June 1816, p. 7.

years of owning a set of Bible plates only managed to print 55,000 volumes. In correspondence with the ABS, the secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society wrote confidently that, “It is considered and found by experience that good plates will work 200,000 copies.”³² The society’s work and growth would continue apace. By the end of its third year, the ABS owned eight sets of stereotype plates and was printing 70,000 Bibles per year on eight hand presses. By year eight, it owned twelve sets of plates and had published 265,000 volumes.

At its fifth meeting on 15 July 1816, the society passed the following resolution:

Resolved, that this Board will proceed without delay to carry out into execution the great object contemplated by the Convention which founded this society, viz., “To furnish great districts of the American Continent with well executed Stereotype plates for the cheap & extensive diffusion of the Scriptures, through regions which are now scantily supplied at a discouraging expense.”³³

This resolution was placed by the secretary in newspapers throughout the country to inform the American public of the society’s formation and intentions. It appeared in papers from Hallowell, Maine to Columbia, South Carolina, and west to Ohio and Kentucky.³⁴ The founding convention discussed stereotyping extensively as the means to allow their new society to best fulfill its mission. In addition to centralizing production of scripture in New York, the ABS in its earliest years would also experiment briefly with sending sets of its plates to outlying areas of the country, thinking that some branch

³² Joseph Tarn to John Romeyn, 22 July 1817. Secretary for Domestic Correspondence, RG# 16.01, John Romeyn Papers, 1816-1819, American Bible Society Archives.

³³ Board of Managers Minutes, 15 July 1816, p. 11.

³⁴ Notices appeared in, for example, the *American Advocate and Kennebec Advertiser* (Hallowell, Maine) 10 August 1816: 1; *The Weekly Recorder* (Chillicothe, Ohio), 7 August 1816: 10; *The Western Monitor* (Lexington, Kentucky) 16 August 1816: 4; and *The Telescope* (Columbia, South Carolina) 6 August, 1816: 3.

production would offset the increased shipping costs and risk of sending large amounts of printed materials out over long distances.

Before they rented meeting space and eventually built their own headquarters building, the ABS often met in New York's city hall, an indicator of its status as one of New York's—and the nation's—most socially and politically well-positioned philanthropic organization. Soon after, the society leased a dedicated room at the New-York Historical Society in which to meet. Initial fundraising was strong, and encouraging. In addition to founding gifts from the many individual members tapped as officers—the regional vice presidents—and gifts from newly-joined regional auxiliary Bible societies, the ABS received a donation of five hundred pounds sterling from the British and Foreign Bible Society as a show of support for their work. The BFBS also offered the ABS a set of stereotype plates to a French Bible, which they discussed taking on in their first meetings. In their earliest discussions of which forms of scripture to offer to the American public, the Society considered offering a separate New Testament as well as a Spanish Bible if it could, but placed its greatest emphasis on obtaining a complete English Bible, without Apocrypha or commentary.

During this first summer, the society declined several other requests for shipments of Bibles from auxiliaries and received a letter of support from a Reverend Dr. Griffin recommending them to procure a set of plates to produce a Bible in Spanish. In his correspondence with the regional Bible societies, the secretary was directed to state consistently that the ABS was devoting all its energies to having several sets of plates made first and then printed from themselves. At the July meeting, the board authorized

contracting with Mr. White to produce the three sets of octavo Bible plates for them, at a cost not to exceed \$7500.

Just after this recommendation was made, a subcommittee of the managers charged with investigating options for stereotype plates reported back that,

a letter of the 19th July last from Messrs. B. & I. Collins Stereotype makers addressed to Saml. Boyd, Esquire, was handed to them. In this letter Messrs. Collins offered to this Board “to cast from three to six sets of plates on any type from Long Primer to Pearl inclusive, at fourteen hundred dollars a set; the page of any size wanted; & to give security that the plates should be executed in a style equal to any that can be procured, & furnished in as short time as can be done in any foundry whatever.” Shortly afterward Messrs. D. & G. Bruce, Stereotype Makers of this city offered to the Committee to make three or more sets of plates for a less sum than that proposed by Messrs. Collins.³⁵

Word had clearly gotten out about the intentions—and capitalization—of the newly-formed society. The typefounding trade in New York, while the largest in the United States, was still modest in size and concentrated within a few square blocks in lower Manhattan. There were only twelve type founders in New York in 1816.³⁶ Those who could also cast stereotype plates were smaller still, likely just the three firms who corresponded with the society in its earliest days: D. & G. Bruce, Collins and Co., and Elihu White & Co. The typefounders and stereotypers of New York were about to compete for the society’s business, especially to secure such a significant and wide-reaching commission. The stereotyping race was on. Pausing a bit with this new information, the committee then decided to send a circular letter to the three establishments setting out their requirements for the project and allowing each firm the opportunity to respond. There were two responses. D. & G. Bruce offered to complete

³⁵ Board of Managers Minutes, 7 August 1816, p. 14.

³⁶ Harry B. Weiss. “Type Founders, Copperplate Printers, Stereotypers in Early New York City.” *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 55 (10), October 1951: 471-483.

three sets of plates of any size Bible between Long Primer to Nonpareil by 1 May 1817 for \$4000. Collins made an offer for three sets between Long Primer and Pearl type priced at \$1400 per set. If White's initial offer of \$2500 per set still stood, the Bruce offer was \$200 less than any offer they had thus far received.³⁷

At its August meeting, the society reconsidered their resolution authorizing the subcommittee to contract for three sets of octavo plates and instead authorized them to contract for three octavo *and* three duodecimo sets. Elihu White would supply the octavo Bible plates and D. & G. Bruce the duodecimos. An octavo Bible could be used as a modest family Bible, and a duodecimo could serve as a personal or pocket Bible. Having assessed what types of books could be produced and their estimated production time, the ABS now began the process of obtaining subscriptions for Bibles from the various societies and affiliates around the country in anticipation of being able to print from their newly-commissioned plates by late spring or early summer 1817. Many affiliate Bible societies at this point were sending money to the ABS, either as startup gifts for operations or as loans to be held in trust, bearing interest for the ABS, and to be repaid to the auxiliaries in the form of Bibles at a time when they were able to supply them. The Burlington Female Auxiliary Bible Society of New Jersey, for example, sent fifty dollars as a gift; the Charleston, South Carolina Bible Society gave five hundred; and the Georgia Bible Society gave one thousand, of which five hundred was pure gift and the remaining five hundred a payment for the future delivery of Bibles to Georgia. The

³⁷ Uniform point sizes for type were not introduced in the United States until the late nineteenth century. Prior to this, standard type sizes were distinguished by name. Pica was the equivalent of 12 point type; Long Primer, about 10 point; Bourgeois (pronounced "boor-joyce"), about 9 point; Brevier, about 8 point; Minion, about 7 point; Nonpareil, about 6 point; and Pearl, about 5 point type.

amount of support given to their work from the around the country was significant, as was the need viewed by the auxiliaries for cheap editions of the Bible for distribution in their communities.

This process of organization was speeded up considerably by an opportunity that arose unexpectedly the following month. At its September 19th meeting, the society considered a joint offer from the New York Bible Society and the New York Auxiliary Bible Society to transfer their joint interest in a set of newly-cast stereotype plates to a Bible over to the ABS as a gift. This was a set of plates to a duodecimo Bible the two societies had jointly commissioned from New York stereotypers E. & J. White but had not yet been printed from. The New York societies had commissioned the plates in the fall of 1815 and issued a circular at that time announcing the forthcoming project, anticipating their plates to begin arriving in the spring of 1816, fortuitous timing for the newly-formed ABS.³⁸ The managers were clearly delighted at this prospect, as it allowed them to carry out their objective of publishing their first books months earlier than they had anticipated. They immediately charged a committee to see that 10,000 copies were printed from the plates and bound up for distribution. At the same time, the society also turned down an offer from the publisher William D. Allen & Co. of Newburyport to supply them with a large quantity of Bibles for distribution, arguing that they would not be purchasing Bibles as they were just beginning to print their own from their first set of plates.

³⁸ John Wright. *Early Bibles in America: Being A Descriptive Account of Bibles Published in the United States, Mexico and Canada*. New York: Thomas Whitaker, 1894: 197-198.

The society contracted with New York printer Daniel Fanshaw (1789-1860) for its first imprints. Fanshaw would continue to operate as the printer of record for the American Bible Society for over thirty years. Fanshaw had been an apprentice with D. & G. Bruce when they operated their printing business from 1806-1816. Between 1812 and 1814, when they were developing their stereotype casting process, Fanshaw was a witness to this work. When the Bruces quit their printing operations to focus on typefounding and stereotyping, Fanshaw bought half of the printing business and set up his own shop as a master printer. Having worked for the Bruces during their period of stereotype experimentation, he was one of the only qualified printers in the United States who had direct experience working with stereotype plates. Historians of New York publishing have noted that “Fanshaw’s name appears perhaps more frequently on title pages of Bibles than any New York printer” of the early nineteenth century, and he continued to work for the ABS through 1844.³⁹ Fanshaw would also complete contract work for the newly-formed American Tract Society beginning in 1825, choosing to retain his own business rather than be employed directly by the societies, even though evangelical commissions took up the vast majority of his total printing jobs. On several occasions Fanshaw turned down a set salary offered by the ABS, preferring to contract all his work out instead.

Fanshaw, along with the ABS, was continually interested in using new advances in technology in his work. He was the first printer to use power presses in New York, installing his first in 1826, and earlier was the first to use rubber rollers instead of inking

³⁹ Simms. *The Bible in America*, 130. Wright, *Early Bibles in America*, 333-334. *American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking*. New York: Howard Lockwood & Co., 1894: 184.

balls for his hand presses.⁴⁰ The first mechanical-inking device, an apparatus mounted to the bed of a hand press, was acquired in September 1817, shortly after the innovation was brought to market:

...it having, also, been ascertained to the satisfaction of this Committee that Rollers for blacking the types can be used without additional expense, and with less injury to the plates and can be worked independently of this combination; therefore

Resolved that the Chairman and Mr. Collins be authorized to purchase the patent right for five sets of Rollers and cause them to be put in operation without delay.⁴¹

The American Bible Society was one of the first purchasers of paper made from the new automatic Fourdrinier papermaking machine first set up in the United States in Connecticut in 1829. Amos Hubbard, a Connecticut paper merchant, acquired paper from the mill and, being an auxiliary Bible society officer, arranged for the ABS to acquire this domestic machine-made stock for their operations.⁴² Fanshaw himself married Mary Ramage, the daughter of Adam Ramage, the first printing press builder in America, from Philadelphia, thus making him ideally suited as a technological innovator working for a new organization that was equally interested in using the new advances in printing technologies to advance their cause.⁴³ His presses, with the newly-acquired set of

⁴⁰ Fanshaw's rubber rollers were made by Samuel Bingham, an employee of his who went on to found a successful printing roller business. See Henry Lewis Bullen. "The Oldest Job-Printing Office in New York." *Inland Printer* 50 (1913): 519-521.

⁴¹ Standing Committee Minutes, 5 September 1817, p. 22.

⁴² David Paul Nord. "Benevolent Books: Printing, Religion, and Reform," in Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley. *An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790-1840*. A History of the Book in America, Volume II. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010: 221-246 (231).

⁴³ Wesley Washington Paskow. *Dictionary of American Printing and Bookmaking*. New York: Howard Lockwood & Co., 1894: 184. Bullen, "The Oldest Job-Printing Office in New York."

stereotype Bible plates, began working off their first book in November, with an initial press run of 10,000 Bibles.⁴⁴

Also in November, the society received a letter from the Kentucky Bible Society “on the subject of locating a set of Stereotype Plates of the Bible at Lexington.”⁴⁵ The Kentucky society had also written directly to President Elias Boudinot in New Jersey inquiring about the possibility and price of sending a set of stereotype Bible plates to Kentucky. With multiple copies of the same Bible plates about to be cast, would it be in the society’s best interests to share production and distribution in two locations, or to concentrate it solely in New York?

The standing committee recommended the society send one of its sets of minion Bible plates to the Kentucky Bible Society, at cost and when ready. The set was to be housed in Lexington and Bibles printed from them would be bound and distributed throughout the far west in partnership with the ABS. The managers agreed, and the motion passed. Centralizing all western printing operations in Kentucky would help solve the cost issue of sending printed Bibles to the west and would especially help the society from having to accept devalued western currency in New York. Not long after, in March 1817, a donation and request came in from the Utica Bible Society requesting a set of stereotype plates be sent to Utica for printing. Similar requests were made of the ABS during its first year from Bible societies in Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Charlestown, Massachusetts, but none other than the initial Kentucky request was granted. The quantity of requests from regional Bible societies across the country who

⁴⁴ John M. Gibson. *Soldiers of the Word: The Story of the American Bible Society*. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958: 38.

⁴⁵ Board of Managers Minutes, 6 November 1816, p. 21.

had presumably seen the ABS's newspaper announcements is clear evidence of the interest in stereotype printing that existed in the United States in 1816 and 1817. The technology was known and proven in New York, though stereotype founders and the distribution of plates in the publishing industry was still small in number. The regional Bible societies, many with the same innovative spirit of the national body, wanted to utilize it as well as a mark of evangelical progress.

The society also agreed to an offer from the British and Foreign Bible Society to acquire a set of plates to a French Bible, at cost. Therefore, in its first six months of existence, the ABS had one set of Bible plates in hand, was under contract for six additional sets, had secured an alternative printing and distribution agreement in Kentucky, and also had secured a set of plates to a French Bible, each accomplishment a major step towards realizing its goals, and much sooner than anyone had anticipated. Under the transfer agreement, the French Bible plates were to be used not only to distribute Bibles in Francophone Canada, but also potentially to France under the auspices of the ABS, making it a true global publisher. The committee charged with this issue recommended that Albert Gallatin, the American minister to France, be contacted so that he could make inquiries with the "Consistories of the Lutheran and Reformed Protestant Churches in Paris" to secure greater distribution agreements.⁴⁶

The society continued to keep up good relations with its British counterpart, and the correspondence files of the ABS are full of news reports and shared information between the two organizations. In a 4 October 1817 letter about the society's work, BFBS

⁴⁶ Board of Managers Minutes, 4 December 1816, p. 28.

Secretary Joseph Tarn provided a report on the state of printing in London, which included this note about the first experiments with cylinder presses using curved plates:

A variety of Schemes are at present on foot in London to accelerate the progress and ease the labour of printing; some of which are at present in action, and others in preparation; the most simple and least expensive one that I have seen is that of Mess^{rs} Applegath and Mitton, Nelson Square; which prints about 700 sheets per hour, printing both sides as it passes through the Machine. It is, however, only adapted to Stereotype as the plates are bent by a precision process, round a large cylinder.⁴⁷

In March 1817, the committee charged with commissioning stereotype plates reported that they contracted with David and George Bruce in October for three sets of a duodecimo Bible in Minion, to be completed by the first of June, for \$4000. The cost came to about \$1.50 per plate. The plates began arriving in increments in March, housed 24 to a box. In November 1816 they contracted with Elihu White for three sets of plates to an octavo Bible in Long Primer for \$4300, to be delivered in increments in March, April, and May. By March, White had delivered one complete set comprising 920 plates and was working on the remainder of his contract. The total cost came in just under the estimate at \$4236 for the plates and \$70 for blocks, boxes and bonnet paper. They also purchased a set of brass stereotype blocks from Collins & Co. for mounting their duodecimo plates to type height, thus having all three New York stereotypers in their employ.⁴⁸ The standing committee of the managers would administer the publishing operations of the society, and it proceeded with businesslike vigor, overseeing printing,

⁴⁷ General Agent and Accountant Records, RG #19.01, John Edward Caldwell, 1818-1819. Box 1, 4 October 1817. Gaskell notes that the first prototype cylinder printing machine was constructed in 1812, with *The Times* implementing two in November 1814. They were modified in 1816 to print on two sides of the same sheet, making this letter an early account of the new technology. See Philip Gaskell. *A New Introduction to Bibliography*. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1995: 252.

⁴⁸ Board of Managers Minutes, 5 March 1817, p. 43. Standing Committee Minutes, 11 February, 1817.

corrections, supplies, and keeping an eye out for developments in the printing trades and the potential uses for new sets of plates.⁴⁹

With a set of the Bible in plates now in hand, the society next turned its attention to textual accuracy, something that would occupy and continue to frustrate it for years to come as its new and used sets of Bible plates continued to grow. The founders were aware of the need for having textually-accurate plates made, and even included the position of “Proof-reader” as article XXXII of their constitution, the incumbent being “responsible for the integrity of the text” of the society’s printed output. The Proof-reader was to “examine the printed sheets with minute care, and thus ascertain the state of the stereotype plates, and cause them to be corrected and repaired if necessary.”⁵⁰ Having a consistent output of textually-accurate scripture was a constant concern, especially once the ABS began printing from multiple sets of plates cast by different foundries. By taking in different sets, close comparisons and some textual compromises had to be made. The correcting of plates would occupy a significant amount of time and expenditures after the initial costs of commissioning them. After their first Bibles were printed and distributed, ministers from across the country wrote to the society pointing out errors in the texts, even after proofing and correction. In addition to paying for a corrector and a typefounder to identify and make corrections to their new plates, the society needed to purchase extra type from D. & G. Bruce, \$100 worth, in June 1817, for use in making the corrections.⁵¹

⁴⁹ The Standing Committee Minutes, contained in the ABS Archives, are a rich resource documenting the printing, binding, supply sourcing, distribution, and publicity work of the society from 1816 onward and deserve greater attention for the light they show on the printing trades in New York at this time.

⁵⁰ William Peter Strickland. *History of the American Bible Society, From Its Organization to the Present Time*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1849: 46.

⁵¹ Standing Committee Minutes, 5 June 1817.

At its 7 February 1817 meeting, the ABS created a committee “to examine & revise the Stereotype Plates belonging to this Society for the purpose of making them accurate.”⁵² The ABS Proof-reader compared proofs from its new Bible from Elihu White and his set of plates from the New York Bible Society to the King James Bible published by Collins & Co. in 1791 in Trenton, which was thought to be the most textually-accurate American Bible printed at that time. On April 21st, the committee reported to the whole that the three sets of octavo plates were now all delivered and proofed, and that they recommended a set of corrections be made to the plates before printing from them.

In the meantime, the New York Bible Society’s set of minion Bible plates, given to the ABS in September 1816, were contracted out to Daniel Fanshaw and impressions struck off. By March, 8493 copies were ready, printed on four different paper stocks (fine American, good American, fine French, and fine Italian), with another 1500 copies in press, enough to meet the initial contract run of 10,000 copies.⁵³ The cost of printing amounted to about 18 cents per copy, with binding in plain sheep also at 18 cents. Paper costs averaged 49 cents per copy, bringing the average unit cost, printed and bound, for this initial printing of 8500 Bibles to 85 cents, or slightly more than one quarter of the cost of the most basic Family Bible offered by Mathew Carey or Collins & Co. in Philadelphia or New York at this time.⁵⁴ The paper was acquired from several different sources, and the binding work was divided between four firms: B. F. Lewis in Newburgh,

⁵² Board of Managers Minutes, 7 February 1817, p. 39.

⁵³ Unlike the Family Bible marketplace which had different retail prices for each type of paper, distinctions in paper quality were not nearly as important to the ABS as was a good deal on serviceable paper stock, hence the variety used here.

⁵⁴ Board of Managers Minutes, 5 March 1817, p. 44.

New York, and B. Leland, Thomas T. Reynolds, and James Olmstead, all of New York City. As each group of Bibles from this first impression were ready, they were immediately sent out to the local Bible Societies which had requested them, beginning in November 1816. Most were sent bound, in groups ranging from four copies to 336, but most as groups of 20 or 100. The New Hampshire and Long Island Bible Societies requested their copies (500 and 100, respectively) be delivered in sheets, which was granted, though the society would later curtail sending out unbound copies because of the increased potential for damage in shipping and the shorter lifespan of an unbound work. The initial distribution of Bibles stretched from New Hampshire to Norfolk, with a concentration of initial fulfillments coming from upstate New York.

Given the quantity of requests for plates that came in from auxiliary societies, at the board's 5 June 1817 meeting, one year after its founding, the society appointed a committee of five managers to "report to this Board a general plan for the location and management of the Stereotype plates belonging to the A.B.S."⁵⁵ The society was now responsible for seven sets: one given to them; two sets of three that were commissioned; and with one more soon to arrive. Fundraising had been a great success: the society raised over \$35,000 in its first year from individuals and auxiliaries, and it needed a management plan for the safe housing and administration of its major capital investment.⁵⁶

To publicize its activities, the Society appointed a committee to contract with newspapers in Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Charleston, and Lexington, Kentucky to publish ABS documents and reports on a regular basis, thus informing the

⁵⁵ Board of Managers Minutes, 5 June 1817, p. 69.

⁵⁶ "American Bible Society." *Methodist Review* 10 (4) April 1827: 166-168.

nation with reports of its activities and keeping the regional auxiliary associations involved in their work. As historian of the American Bible Society John Fea remarked in a 2016 interview, “Over the two hundred years of its existence, the ABS has been both a ministry and a business. Until recently, the ABS was in the business of selling Bibles and often measured its success based upon the numbers of Bibles sold and distributed.”⁵⁷ Publicity and marketing were key to maintaining active auxiliary societies around the country and to raising funds for additional printing work.

The question of which languages in which to print scripture continued to evolve in the society’s first decade. French and Spanish Bibles in plates were acquired early on, though repeated requests from auxiliaries to print German, Welsh, and Gaelic Bibles were either deferred or struck down as impractical. A committee also explored costs for a small Spanish New Testament in Bourgeois duodecimo. There was a desire to distribute Bibles to Native Americans, but the relatively modest populations of each tribe and their distinct languages and dialects posed challenges. In July 1817, a committee charged to report on the prospects for translating the Bible into Native American languages recommended the society do so, beginning with two languages: Delaware and Mohawk. The committee reasoned that these populations were in the most immediate need of having scriptures, and that they were also most likely to take up cultivation of the soil and abandon hunting as their land holdings became smaller. It was thought the Delaware translation would be of use to other Iroquois nations and even into the west, as the Kickapoo and Miami were likely to understand the dialect. For the Mohawk version, the

⁵⁷ John Fea, interview of 23 May, 2016. <https://www.biblegateway.com/blog/2016/05/history-of-the-american-bible-society-an-interview-with-john-fea/>. Accessed 1 April 2018.

Tuscarora, Wyandot and Huron could also benefit. A Cherokee translation was considered, but the committee recommended no action. No work was taken up to reach tribes in the far west, or indeed those substantially west of the Mississippi. The society also agreed in those early days to purchase 500 Welsh Bibles and 500 Gaelic Bibles from the BFBS because of the number of requests coming in for them from their auxiliaries.

At the same meeting in July 1817, the stereotype plates management committee, weighing other requests for plates from auxiliary societies, reported that plates,

if judiciously located & placed under proper regulations, cannot fail of being powerful instruments in spreading the knowledge of the Scriptures; but on the other hand should local jealousies be excited by the distribution of the plates, or should they, by an inconsiderate location, interfere with the issue of Bibles from the depository at New York, they would counteract that great principle of unity of effort on which the American Bible Society is founded, and from which its fairest hopes of success are derived.⁵⁸

Centralized control over publishing operations was still the best option, with the only exception being the set of plates in Kentucky. The committee took as its guiding principle the address of the ABS convention to the people of the United States, which stated that the Society,

should furnish great districts of the American continent with well executed Stereotype plates for the cheap and extensive diffusion of the Scriptures throughout regions which are now scantily supplied, at a discouraging expense.⁵⁹

As such, the committee concluded that the society was bound to keep the set of plates given them by the New York Bible Society, plus at least one set each of the three sets of octavo and duodecimo plates they had commissioned. The Kentucky Bible Society had already been promised one duodecimo set, leaving one additional duodecimo and two

⁵⁸ Board of Managers Minutes, 3 July 1817, p. 75.

⁵⁹ *Annual Reports of The American Bible Society*. Volume I. New York: Printed for the Society, 1838: 14.

octavo sets to potentially place elsewhere. Keeping the octavo and duodecimo sets together seemed practical, as outlying auxiliaries would appreciate the variety of having two differently-sized Bibles available. The committee noted that most people preferred the larger type of the octavos over pocket duodecimos. They then recommended that Kentucky receive one set of octavo plates as well, leaving one remaining pair to be placed. This recommendation was passed by the society at their August meeting. Selling the final sets could make a modest profit, but it could also potentially undercut their own market share, so these final sets essentially became warehoused backups to be rotated into use when the first production set was worn and beyond repair.

In arranging a transfer agreement for its plates to Kentucky, the ABS did not transfer ownership outright to the auxiliary society. Rather, they lent them to be printed from freely as the auxiliaries estimated demand in their district. As part of the agreement, the plates could be recalled by the ABS at any time. Any Bibles printed from the plates were to remain only in their specified districts and not sent elsewhere across the country or outside the district itself. This allowed the ABS to exert central control over the distribution—and revenues—from Bible production. It was also a safeguard against plates being used in ways that undermined or worked against the central mission of the society. For example, entering into the commercial market by publishing elaborate fancy Bibles was not of interest, and by lending plates under these conditions they could forestall any potential future profit-seeking motivations of the regional Bible societies attempting to publish and sell higher-priced editions to subsidize their inexpensive editions.

Because of the ABS's very public incorporation and self-generated publicity, the large printer/publishers of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia quickly recognized it as an influential force for the distribution of cheap Bibles. And because of their initial devotion to spreading the Word "without note or comment" in cheap editions without illustrations, maps, and additional texts, those sellers of higher-end scriptural products did not for the most part feel threatened by its work. Commercial publishers were certainly attentive and quite possibly wary of the scope and reach of the society's production and rapid growth, but by their own admission they had carved out one segment of the Bible marketplace that remained consistent in the first decades of the nineteenth century.⁶⁰

For its first eighteen months, the society had only been printing complete Bibles from its plates. On January 7, 1818, the committee took up the question of whether a New Testament should be printed alone from one set, the first time the question had come up. At the following meeting it was agreed to proceed and have an edition struck up. There was concern that printing only the New Testament from a complete set of Bible plates would cause undue wear to the plates over time, so much so that a later impression of the complete Bible would look uneven and mismatched. An increasing need for Testaments from the growing evangelical denominations in the United States also meant that the society needed to explore commissioning separate sets of New Testaments plates to meet this need.

In its first years, the ABS wanted to have one building suitable for housing their entire operations that would include a print shop, bindery, a depository for storage of

⁶⁰ See Chapter 2 as well as Jeffrey Makala. "The Early History of Stereotyping in the United States: Mathew Carey and the Quarto Bible Marketplace." *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 109 (4) 2015: 461-489.

Bibles and stereotype plates, and meeting and office space for officers of the society. All their printing jobs had been contracted out individually, and their Bible depository, paper stock, stereotype plates, and other assets were scattered across several rented spaces in lower Manhattan. With a new headquarters, they also wanted to hire a manager to supervise the printing and binding operations, purchasing of paper, “correction and safe keeping of the Stereotype plates” and other on-site management.⁶¹ Daniel Fanshaw, the printer to the society, still operated his own shop and bookstore at this time and was a contract printer, not a full-time hire. The society estimated that its printing “annually will not be less than from thirty-five to forty thousand” Bibles, and “it will be requisite to keep at least eight printing presses constantly in operation.” The ABS now possessed “upwards of seven thousand and three hundred plates,” and a Spanish New Testament was about to be commissioned. But more work had to be done to all the received plates to render them ready for printing:

The greater part of the Octavo and duodecimo plates executed for the Society, are yet to be examined and corrected, and the corrections revised before they can be used. The process of doing this is laborious, and requires considerable care, minute accuracy, and a competent knowledge of the subject. Of the six sets of plates executed for the Society, only the first two sets of the Octavo have been corrected at all, and these two are not yet in a finished state.⁶²

The society had partial sets of these newly-commissioned plates in their possession for ten months, and complete sets for at least eight months, during which time they were not printing from them, only from the set given them by the NYBS:

The other set of the Octavo and the three sets of the Minion plates (12”) are all still to be examined and corrected....The French plates are likewise said to be incorrect, and in several instances whole words left out. It will be proper to have them all read and revised....All the plates are liable to receive injury by accident

⁶¹ Board of Managers Minutes, 22 January 1818, p. 99.

⁶² Board of Managers Minutes, 22 January 1818, p. 101.

or carelessness. When repaired they should be carefully examined. The work is too important to be confided entirely to the ordinary fidelity of mechanics. The keeping of these plates in good order, requires no little care, under all the removals to which they are necessarily subject, when used; and when they are transported to a distant place, a still greater care must be exercised, to have them properly packed up and forwarded, together with the necessary tools, type and furniture accompanying them.⁶³

From this point onward and into the late 1820s, the society would continuously employ correctors on contract, often more than one at a time, paying essentially for one full-time position to proof their new plates. The resulting corrections that needed to be made to the plates required additional time and expense, increasing the initial cost of a set by roughly one third.

In 1824, when considering the offer of an octavo Bible in plates, a subcommittee of the standing committee commented that the text should belong “to the authorized version of the English Bible” now in circulation:

They are also of the opinion that, whenever a Quarto Bible is procured, great pains should be taken to secure the accuracy of the text, so that said Bible may form a standard for future Bibles and Testament plates to be secured by the Society. The committee are led to make this remark, in consequence of there being a considerable difference between the Bibles and Testament plates now owned by the Society, especially as to punctuation, which has arisen from their being completed from different copies of the Scripture in which such variances from each other existed.⁶⁴

In 1828, the society acquired a Spanish Bible in plates that came with the Apocrypha. The society affirmed that the Apocrypha should not be included in any Bible it produced, and had those plates destroyed.

For a full year, from late spring 1818 through May 1819, the society paid a proofreader, Joseph Osborn, to read through proofs of their Bibles at 18 sheets for \$3.

⁶³ Board of Managers Minutes, 22 January 1818, p. 102.

⁶⁴ Standing Committee Minutes, 16 April 1824, p. 331.

Their corrector, Francis Urban, was paid ten dollars per week to work on mechanically correcting their Minion Bibles' plates, cutting and soldering new type onto the plate to render it correct and uniform for printing. They then moved on to the octavo Bibles and Bourgeois New Testaments, followed by the Spanish New Testament. Periodically, Urban would be reimbursed for solder, type, and other supplies necessary for altering the plates.⁶⁵ Later on, no doubt based on this laborious and time-consuming experience, the society signed a contract with D. & G. Bruce to commission a New Testament that would be delivered upon condition that the society would read proofs of it and the Bruces would make the necessary corrections to the plates as requested, all part of the initial purchase agreement. This contract was made in October 1818 for a complete New Testament, with boxes and twelve blocks for printing, for \$500.⁶⁶ Together with other working supply requests, the society paid \$177.43 for "Boxes, to contain the Stereotype Plates, and repairing Brass Blocks, and new Boxes &c." They also purchased a set of foundry tools, "for Stereotype Plates sent to Kentucky," so that future corrections could be made on site in Lexington.⁶⁷

In November 1817, the society sent a request for proposals for a Spanish New Testament set in Bourgeois duodecimo to the three major stereotype founders in New York. Proposals came in within two weeks, with D. & G. Bruce offering to supply it for \$700, B. & I. Collins for \$650, and E. White & Co. for \$625. The standing committee voted to accept White's lowest-priced proposal.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ See Appendix C: "Instructions for Repairing Plates," ca. 1820.

⁶⁶ Standing Committee Minutes, 30 October 1818, p. 92.

⁶⁷ Standing Committee Minutes, 11 September 1818, p. 83; 9 October 1818, p. 90.

⁶⁸ Standing Committee Minutes, 19 December 1817, p. 28.

At the end of 1817, the society took an inventory and valuation of their assets for insurance purposes. Their printing investments in plates were listed as follows:

1 set Brevier 12mo, 1088 plates, value \$2000	
3 sets Minion 12mo, 2520 plates, cost \$4500	
3 sets Long Primer 8vo, 2760 plates, cost \$4800	
1 set nonpareil French, 12mo, 996 plates, value \$2000	
	7364 plates \$13,300
4 Sets Brass blocks	
6 sets wooden blocks	
5 sets Rollers, for blackening types	
A qty. of Type for Minion & long primer plates	
Boxes to contain the plates, tools, &c.	\$700
	Total value: \$14,000 ⁶⁹

One set of octavo and one set of duodecimo Bible plates were held at the store of William Walton Woolsey on Pearl Street for safekeeping, with the remainder either at the ABS's depository, at White's foundry for correcting, or at Fanshaw's print shop. Woolsey (1766-1838), a member of the standing committee, was a prominent New York merchant and civic official who would become chair of the standing committee the following year.⁷⁰

In April 1818, breaking from its previously-announced goals, the society agreed to a request to print an edition of the Gospel of St. John translated into Mohawk in a slim 18-page edition of 1000 copies. This was their only deviation from printing Bibles and complete New Testaments, and the work was not stereotyped. Their source text was a copy of an edition published by the British and Foreign Bible Society and presumably

⁶⁹ Standing Committee Minutes, 30 December 1817, p. 35.

⁷⁰ Walter Barrett. *The Old Merchants of New York City. Second Series*. New York: Carleton, 1864: 380-381.

distributed in Canada.⁷¹ While numerous similar requests had come in over the years, many of them endorsed by Elias Boudinot, this edition was only one to be completed.

That same month, the society also resolved to have 5000 copies of the New Testament printed up and bound for distribution. This, their first New Testament project, was printed from a set of their Bible plates, as they did not yet have a separate New Testament. This must have caused some concern, because in October, a committee formed to investigate the acquisition of New Testament plates gave its report to the managers. They stated the society now had Bibles in Minion, Brevier, and Long Primer type. The first two sizes were too small to print as stand-alone New Testaments, and the last, Long Primer was too big “for general use,” despite entreaties from ABS founder Elias Boudinot to print a Testament in larger type for older readers. “The Bourgeois letter is better adapted to the purpose” of printing the New Testament, they concluded, “and will, it is thought be preferred by a great proportion of those to whom New Testaments will probably be distributed.”⁷² If printed as a duodecimo, it would cost less than the octavo New Testament now being printed from Bible plates already owned by the society. As to the question of how many copies to print, if the same present need continued, the subcommittee concluded the Bible plates from which the New Testament was currently being printed would wear down more disproportionately than the rest of the Bible. The difference between the Old and New Testaments would then “become so apparent as to be a material blemish to the whole.”⁷³ But they also offered a solution. A Bourgeois Testament in duodecimo was currently on offer within the trade, fully

⁷¹ John Norton, translator. *The Gospel According to St. John: in the Mohawk Language*. New York: Printed for the American Bible Society. D. Fanshaw, Printer, 1818.

⁷² Board of Managers Minutes, 1 October 1818: p. 144.

⁷³ Ibid.

corrected, including boxes and twelve printing blocks, for 500 dollars. The committee recommended the ABS purchase this set, and they received authorization from the managers to do so.

By late 1816, the Society's printing output was about 4000 volumes of Bibles and Testaments per month. They had printed and distributed two annual reports of 5000 copies each and had advertised their activities in newspapers across the country, as well as having articles written about them and their work. In two years, they had come to dominate the American Bible marketplace for cheap editions of scripture. The finance committee report of October 1818 included a proposal to consider raising funds to print "Anniversary Speeches, Newspaper and pamphlet publications; and in concluding, would suggest the propriety of publishing a legal form of Bequest on the cover or front page of the Annual Reports of the Society."⁷⁴ The body of the whole agreed to the drafting of a legal bequest form only, and not to raise funds for additional types of publications. The main purpose of the ABS was to print and distribute scripture. The American Tract Society, founded in 1824, would eventually help fill the need for additional evangelical publications.

The Panic of 1819 impacted orders for Bibles and caused the society to pause and again take stock. In June 1819, despite worsening national economic conditions, it was reported that since the autumn, demand had grown for more Bibles, so the managers instructed Fanshaw to increase his number of presses from nine to twelve. He did so, increasing his production proportionately. Later that year, with the effects of the economic slowdown being felt, the number of Bibles in stock were 15,296, together with

⁷⁴ Board of Managers Minutes, 1 October 1818: p. 148.

10,557 New Testaments. Payments from the auxiliaries were slow in arriving, so production likewise slowed down. Elias Boudinot suggested in June that the ABS contribute toward the publishing of a “small harmony of the life and proceedings of Christ” in the Delaware language by the Female Auxiliary Missionary Society of Bethlehem, PA, “which was deemed inexpedient” at the time, and declined to be taken on.⁷⁵ By mid-July, the society was forced to take action to slow down production and curtail expenses due to the effects of the recession. They requested their agent, essentially the business manager of the production facility, to supply Fanshaw with paper sufficient to keep only eight of his now twelve presses working.

Fanshaw had just purchased four additional presses for his shop under the ABS’s direction, but had to let his foreman and other workers go and scale down to eight working presses. Still needing to pay the loan for the new presses, Fanshaw asked the society for a loan to either cover their expense or to purchase them directly for him. They agreed to lend him \$1500 to pay off his presses, from which he could deduct this loan in printing work done for the society. During this time, the managers continued to express confidence in Fanshaw as someone whose interests were closely aligned with theirs, and whose workmanship and attention as a printer was highly valued.

The Kentucky printing experiment, however, was proving more problematic. A complete Bible in stereotype plates was sent from New York to Lexington in September 1818 in six boxes, plus one box of brass blocks for mounting them. To reach Lexington, the parcels traveled from New York to Baltimore, then on to Pittsburgh and Maysville, Ohio before arriving at their destination. More than six months later, in May 1819, the

⁷⁵ Board of Managers Minutes, 21 June 1819, p. 197.

Kentucky Bible Society struck off its first impression of 2000 Bibles from their plates.

They sent samples of their work back to New York, but the results were not well

received. The standing committee reported to the managers as follows:

The Committee are of the opinion that the edition of the Bible now issuing by the Kentucky Auxy. Bible Society is very badly executed. The paper is not good, and costs as much money as the finer paper used in N. York. The printing is badly done being more faintly impressed on one place than on another. The register is so incorrect, that in binding the volume a part of the printing must inevitably be folded in, or hidden, and a part cut off; and there is great reason to fear that the binding of the volumes will be so poorly finished, for want of proper workmen, as to render them much less desirable than the Bibles issued at the Depository of the A.B.S.⁷⁶

As a result, the managers were adamant that the Kentucky Society not furnish any Bibles outside their own territory. Other auxiliary Bible societies in the west were to order their stock directly from New York. They also agreed not to send the additional set of plates (to an octavo Bible) to Kentucky that they had once promised. The report concluded that “They also believe, that experience will convince the Am. Bible So. that both the manufacture and sale of Bibles from their own Stereotype plates, ought to be confined to their own Depository.”⁷⁷ This first experiment in lending plates to an auxiliary society to save time and the expense of shipping Bibles a great distance did not turn out as expected. The ABS was instead ever more convinced that they needed to centralize all their production and distribution operations in New York.

The Kentucky experience stung more than a year later. The standing committee, studying pricing for printing jobs and stewardship of the society’s plates, stressed in July 1820 the importance of not committing the society’s investments to “unskillful or careless workmen” because more injury would be sustained to the society than would be

⁷⁶ Board of Managers Minutes, 15 July 1819, p. 201.

⁷⁷ Board of Managers Minutes, 15 July 1819, p. 202.

made up by cheaper printing costs. This had already happened, as a set of plates, “after having a large number stricken off, without apparent injury, have been ruined in printing two editions of about 2,000 books each.”⁷⁸ Kentucky continued to press for more support to expand their operations and also requested that their printing costs be subsidized by New York, to which the managers were united in opposition, instead entertaining whether Pittsburgh might be a better site for hosting their Western operations.

In contrast to the damage made to the Kentucky plates by unskilled handlers, the New York sets were holding up admirably under the stewardship of Daniel Fanshaw:

From the Brevier Stereotype plates belonging to the Society upwards of 46,000 Bibles were printed by Mr. Fanshaw; the plates then underwent a revision and repair and the whole expense to the Society was only \$12.50 and the Minion Plates after 47,000 Bibles were printed, were revised and repaired and the expense to the Society was only \$18.18 and both sets of Plates are now very little less valuable than when new.⁷⁹

Ultimately, the Kentucky Bible Society would print only three impressions of 2,000 Bibles each during its tenure holding a set of stereotype plates. The Panic of 1819 caused a currency crisis, further devaluing western bank notes in the East, so it was deemed expedient to let Kentucky remain selling and distributing its Bibles locally for the time being.⁸⁰ Sending the damaged plates back to New York and shutting down the Kentucky operation would have been even more disastrous during the panic and recession. Despite the results, local enthusiasm in Kentucky remained high, but New York remained unconvinced. As late as December 1822, one agent in Kentucky noted that “the wisdom of the Parent Society in locating plates in this place is still evident, and the more zealous and prudent this Auxiliary becomes, that wisdom will also appear more clearly,” despite

⁷⁸ Board of Managers Minutes, 20 July 1820, p. 282.

⁷⁹ Board of Managers Minutes, 20 July 1820, p. 283.

⁸⁰ Nord, “Free Grace, Free Books, Free Riders,” 256.

the fact that the managers of the society reported that the Kentucky Bible Society at that time was “in a drooping state.”⁸¹

The first edition of the society’s French Bible printed from plates was ready for distribution, and the ABS was also becoming interested in an 18mo New Testament in English. Once this interest was shared within the trades, proposals came in from all the stereotype founders in New York. In July 1820, the ABS contracted with Adoniram Chandler & Co. for two sets of New Testament plates in Brevier 18mo, “for \$550, both sets.”⁸² Chandler was the former foreman at D. & G. Bruce and had struck out to found his own stereotyping foundry. By 1820, the number of stereotypers in the United States had more than doubled from only a few years before. Baltimore, Hartford, and Boston now had foundries.

In April 1821, the Baltimore Bible Society wrote inquiring about joining the ABS as an auxiliary society and also offered their own set of stereotype plates to an octavo Bible to the ABS for their use. The ABS already had three octavo Bibles in plates from their initial commission of 1816: one set in use and judged by them at the time good for another ten years; another set in a fireproof store separate from the depository, to be their security copy in case of fire; and the third set, which was “dead property and ought, in the opinion of the Standing Committee, to be sold.” The standing committee estimated the ABS would not require another set of octavo plates “in less time than fifty years.”⁸³ By 1821, numerous publishers were producing octavo Bibles for retail sale in addition to the ABS’s distribution. The society clearly did not wish to enter into the higher-priced

⁸¹ Lacy, *The Word Carrying Giant*, 40, 44.

⁸² Standing Committee Minutes, 21 July 1820, p. 185.

⁸³ Board of Managers Minutes, 3 May 1821, p. 337; Standing Committee Minutes, 2 March 1821, p. 214.

segment of the octavo Bible market. As they did not need or want another set of plates, they accepted Baltimore as an auxiliary but declined purchasing their plates. They also declined commissioning a German Bible on the grounds that the expense would be too great for too small a potential audience over time.

The society in 1821 was also still renting space for their printing and depository operations. They appointed a committee to explore acquiring land and a building, and in doing so, assessed their real property and assets. In January 1822, the ABS had 82,552 Bibles and Testaments printed in sheets, either bound or ready for binding, with a value of \$40,422.10. Assets in stereotype plates were valued at \$15,198.09. The society would build Bible House, their headquarters on Nassau Street in lower Manhattan, and be moved in by the spring of 1823. Because of this expanded centralization of their business operations, they declined another request to send a set of plates to Pittsburgh and seem to have begrudgingly accepted the Kentucky Bible Society's attempts to strike off more impressions from their set of damaged plates.

Other offers continued to arrive from around the country. The Maryland Bible Society requested the loan of a set of plates, ideally to a Minion Bible. That request was declined as it was thought that doing so would establish a precedent for lending plates to additional auxiliaries and create production rivalries which would have to be continually managed. In this discussion, it was noted that, of the three sets of Minion Bibles in plates the society owned (one in Kentucky, one in reserve, and one in use in New York), the New York set "is nearly worn out."⁸⁴ The society also had word at this time that a Hartford printer with a Bible held in standing Nonpareil type, like that of Mathew Carey

⁸⁴ Board of Managers Minutes, 5 June 1823, p. 514.

and Hugh Gaine a generation prior, was offering it to the New Haven Bible Society, and would they be interested in acquiring it? After referral to committee, the society chose to decline the offer. Having Bibles in newly-cast stereotype plates had far more advantages over the bulk of having a Bible completely set up in type forms.

In addition to the Spanish New Testament, the society also decided to invest in a complete Spanish Bible. After making inquiries around the city in late 1822, the standing committee reported to the full board of managers that a set of octavo Bible plates could be procured for between \$2300 and \$2800. The board charged them to act on this proposal, and in early 1823, the society solicited proposals for a complete Spanish Bible from the New York foundries. The solicitation, which asked for pricing for one, two, and three sets of plates, resulted in offers from four stereotype foundries:

	1 st set	2 sets	3 sets
D. & G. Bruce	2800	4000	5200
Trow	2702	3982	5262
A. Chandler	2474	3612	4750
Hammond Wallis	2274	3270	4260

Hammond Wallis's offer, which guaranteed the work would be completed within four months, was accepted, but for one set of plates only.⁸⁵ Wallis was a young New York stereotyper who had just made a set of plates to a Greek New Testament for Hartford publisher Oliver D. Cooke. He also made a set of plates to an English schoolbook for the New-York Free-School Society.⁸⁶ He occasionally published titles under his own imprint, jobbing the printing out. While his business and Christian credentials seemed sound, the society's work with Wallis would prove frustrating. Wallis did not offer samples of his

⁸⁵ Standing Committee Minutes, 17 January 1823, p. 282.

⁸⁶ Stephen Grellet and William Allen. *Lessons for Schools Taken from the Holy Scriptures, in the Words of the Text*. New-York: Stereotyped for the New-York Free-School Society, 1822.

work up front, despite repeated requests. Later in the year he wrote to the managers that his “sureties” had backed out of the project, leaving him in a bind. He offered as an act of good faith not to accept any payment for himself until the end of the contract, only requesting expenses for creation of the plates if an amendment to the contract were drawn up. The managers agreed, together with Wallis agreeing to deliver “two perfect sheets” to them by 17 October. Wallis failed to deliver. On the 18th, he sent 32 plates to the society “in an unfinished state, not regularly following each other, but taken from all parts of the Bible.”⁸⁷ The standing committee was uniformly dissatisfied with the work and told him they would recommend breaking off all contracts with him at that point. Wallace offered his house as security to continue the project, but having made inquiries of the true owner of his property, members of the subcommittee learned that Wallis was in no position to make such a guarantee. Seeing no way the project could be completed, they cancelled his contract in late December, losing one year’s time on the project.

This incident is illustrative of the somewhat volatile commercial landscape of the first stereotype founders in New York. The contracts they entered into to cast large, complex works such as complete Bibles were for large sums and required enormous amounts of time, skill, labor, and expenses to successfully complete. Wallis, just starting out in business on his own, risked a year’s employment on a project he underbid and could not satisfactorily complete. Older, more established and well-capitalized firms such as D. & G. Bruce or Collins & Co. could shift time and resources to more easily do the work, especially when, as with the Bruces, they also had a sister firm that specialized in

⁸⁷ Standing Committee Minutes, 23 December 1823, p. 311.

the steady business of typefounding, and who regularly supplied type to most New York printers.

As a way of salvaging the project yet again, Wallis solicited and received notes from Collins and Bruce offering to be guarantors for him on the Spanish Bible project. The managers' subcommittee said no. Adoniram Chandler, the second lowest bidder on the project, wrote saying he would complete the plates for 90 cents per thousand ems of type, and a new deal was struck. Chandler would also be commissioned later that year to produce an octavo Pica New Testament for the ABS, with boxes and blocks, complete for \$500.

Wallis continued to press his case. He petitioned the managers in January 1824 to at least purchase the type he had acquired for the project (about 530 pounds worth, purchased from D. & G. Bruce) and the 120 plates that were already cast. The standing committee agreed to accept 120 partially-completed plates for the cost at which he was to have been paid for them, "provided they are conformable to the requisitions of said contract and approved by the persons Therein named to examine them." Fanshaw, whose shop was composing the Bible for Chandler's foundry, agreed to take about 400 pounds of type. With this agreement, together with the sureties offered Wallis by his competitors Bruce and Collins, one can see the ways in which the printers and typefounders of New York worked informally together to advance their trade and maintain their reputations as honorable businessmen working for a charitable cause.⁸⁸ Wallis persisted in his entreaties. In April 1824, he offered the society a set of plates to a quarto Bible he was just beginning to cast. While some of the standing committee were interested in a quarto

⁸⁸ Standing Committee Minutes, 13 January 1824, p. 318.

or “Family Bible,” they did not take Wallis up on his offer. By 1824, the Family Bible market was saturated, with several publishers offering multiple variants, and such a work would not fit well into the ABS’s publishing model. Wallis never completed this set of plates, but he did stereotype a new Greek New Testament that was published by Collins & Hannay that year, a Greek and Latin lexicon, also published by Collins & Hannay, in 1825, a New Testament in 1826, and other works in the later 1820s. By the 1830s, he had moved over exclusively to publishing with his firm, Wallis & Newell.

The ABS did not turn down every offer to broaden its publishing reach. In November 1823, the standing committee recommended they acquire a set of Pica New Testament plates. They directed a subcommittee to acquire them for not more than \$560, along with a set of plates to a “Pocket Bible...as soon as possible.”⁸⁹ John Nitchie, the society’s agent and accountant, wrote to stereotype founder Jedidiah Howe, a former New Yorker recently relocated to Philadelphia, concerning the pocket Bible. Having seen his recent work casting a Bible for the New York publisher D. D. Smith, Nitchie inquired, “Did you cast more than one set, if yea, have you any for sale and for how much, if no, what would you be willing to cast just such a set for, only making it better as there appears to be room for improvement.”⁹⁰ Howe wrote back that he cast but one set of plates for Smith, for \$2500, and that after printing only 2-3000 copies from them, bought them back. He could offer the set to the ABS for \$2400. He was also beginning to cast an octavo Bible for Smith instead and enclosed a proof, stating “I can do but one set like it – but can overrun it into a different form or leave off the notes & cast an extra set without

⁸⁹ Board of Managers Minutes, 20 November 1823, p. 543; 4 December, 1823, p. 548.

⁹⁰ General Agent and Accountant Records, RG #19.01. John Caldwell Letter Book, 1818-1819, Box 1. 5 October 1824, p. 338.

coming in contact with my agreement with him.”⁹¹ In other words, Howe was willing to use the same setting of type but would adjust the forms to cast a new set of plates to an octavo Bible sufficiently different from Smith’s copy that it would not break their exclusivity agreement. Receiving no immediate answer, Howe wrote again the following March about his pocket Bible, stating that upon examination, the engravings are “much more worn than I had an idea of - & that, with a desire to dispose of the plates, to a safe purchaser” he now could reduce the price to \$2250, inclusive. In both letters to Nitchie, Howe was careful to ask that no mention of this possible sale, or its price, be made to anyone outside the ABS, and asked them to keep his confidence.⁹² In the end, the ABS did not acquire any plates from Howe.

As the stereotyping trade in the United States expanded, more offers of new and used plates would continue to come in, together with requests from auxiliaries to borrow sets. Nearly all of these requests and offers were declined: sample plates for a new quarto Bible and a request for a loan of plates to Meadville, Pennsylvania were made in April 1824; and a gift offer of a set of plates to a pocket Bible by the BFBS in February 1825 was declined. The society did not need to enter into the quarto Bible marketplace, which was crowded with commercial publishers producing many different variants by 1824 (see Chapter 2). The managers’ decision to decline the gift of a set of plates from their British equivalent on the grounds that the BFBS’s assets were better used in Britain and on the Continent *was* something new: a statement of confidence in the society’s stability and its assets. If it wished to have a pocket Bible, it could commission and pay for its own set

⁹¹ Jedidiah Howe to John Nitchie, 11 October 1824. Box 5, General Correspondence, 1823-1825. General Agent and Accountant Records.

⁹² Jedidiah Howe to John Nitchie, 25 March 1825. Box 5, General Correspondence, 1823-1825. General Agent and Accountant Records.

without foreign assistance. The ABS would acquire their own set of pocket Bible plates later that year for \$2400 (but not from Jedidiah Howe), and a set of plates to an octavo Bible would be acquired from the Baltimore Bible Society in 1827, also for \$2400.⁹³

During these decades, the ABS was not alone in printing Bibles for charitable distribution in the United States. The Philadelphia Bible Society had always operated independently with its own sets of plates, going back to 1812. Baltimore had published Bibles for several years and printed from its set. And the New York Bible and Common Prayer Book Society commissioned a set of Bible plates in 1826 for its own use as well, even though its predecessor organization had given its first set of plates to the ABS back in 1816. By the mid-1820s, stereotyping had spread among United States typefounders and publishers to the extent that secondhand sets of plates were just beginning to appear in the marketplace, and additional offers from typefounders and publishers continued to come in. In the fall of 1826 alone, the society declined an offer of a used set of quarto Bible plates from New York printer John Evans and considered a new set of plates to a Long Primer New Testament in duodecimo offered by New York printer George Mather. Complete with boxes for \$175, the price was cheap, but after examination it was determined that repairs to the set needed to bring it up to good printing quality would require over \$100 of additional investment, so the standing committee declined to pursue it.

⁹³ The Baltimore Bible was acquired via credit for new books ordered by them. General agent Nitchie directed their secretary to pack the boxes of plates in larger crates and have them made strong and tight “so there may be no shaking of the plates. Let them be carefully stowed in the vessel with a caution against turning them on the side or upside down.” See the General Agent and Accountant Records, letter of 7 April 1827. Despite this attention to detail, Nitchie wrote to Baltimore in January of the following year that some of the plates were damaged in shipment once proofs were finally taken from them and examined.

Living in what was quickly becoming the center of the printing trades in the United States, the businessmen of the standing committee kept an attentive eye on innovations in the trades, such as the potential advantages of using new power presses:

The Committee...have examined with much attention the power press invented by Mr. Treadwell of Boston, and which is now in operation in Mr. Fanshaw's printing office, the right to use it in this city being vested in him. The Committee find that very good work [cut off] done on this kind of press, that the plates are less injured than they are by hand presses, that there is a less loss of paper, and that the labour of girls can be substituted for that of men or boys, and that of the power by which it is moved is favourably located and well regulated, there will not be more interruptions than is usual in hand presses; and they are of opinion that four presses, moved by a single horse or an Engine of equivalent power, would do as much printing as the Society now find necessary, and that an extension of the work should it be required, could be provided for, by adding two or four presses, connected with power which moves the four presses first erected.

The Committee have with a reference to this plan of printing examined the rooms in the rear building and find them well adapted for this purpose, and believing that this mode of printing has advantages over printing done on hand presses, they lay before the Board propositions made by Daniel Fanshaw for performing the printing work of the Society.⁹⁴

In November 1827, Fanshaw reported to the society his conversations with Daniel Treadwell of Boston, the power press manufacturer. Fanshaw had four power presses, purchased the previous year, and had been offered four more. Treadwell was going to Philadelphia to conclude a deal for four presses, and Fanshaw hinted to them that the Philadelphia Bible Society was the commissioner, so he wanted to convince Treadwell to supply him with presses first. It would take about ten months for delivery, so Fanshaw requested a loan for the initial deposit and payments. The cost was about \$5000 on delivery for all four. The ABS agreed to lend Fanshaw the funds for the additional presses. Their need was so great, in fact, that they purchased five additional hand presses in January 1828 to use until the power presses arrived later that year. Initially they asked

⁹⁴ Standing Committee Minutes, 21 January 1827.

Fanshaw to acquire the hand presses himself, but he refused. At that point, he was only interested in power presses. And, “although the original plan called for a horse in the basement of the rear building, a steam engine was actually installed” in 1827.⁹⁵ Running four additional presses from the same steam engine was entirely possible where that quantity of work could not be done with one horse.

The society continued to innovate, using the latest trends in binding as well. Early on, they decided not to distribute Bibles and Testaments in sheets, knowing that the auxiliary Bible societies and the eventual recipients of the books would likely never have them bound, thus significantly decreasing their lifespan. They contracted with several binders in New York at first, and then set up a contract binding operation in an arrangement similar to their printing arrangement with Fanshaw. Their bindings were basic undecorated calf or sheepskin until 1827, when a resolution in the standing committee minutes notes that “the price of the Non Pareil Testament bound in Cloth be 12½ Cents.”⁹⁶ Cloth bindings had been successfully introduced in Great Britain in 1822 by the publisher William Pickering and were quick to catch on for their inexpensive but relatively sturdy construction. Lowering their binding unit cost by choosing to go with cloth for smaller items was another important step in the society embracing new techniques to improve the cost-effectiveness of their operation.

In May 1826, James Reed wrote to the society from Boston, notifying them of his new venture, the Forthill Stereotype Foundry, and soliciting inquiries for work. George Mather wrote from New York that same month enclosing specimens taken from a set of stereotype plates to a New Testament which he owned and wished to sell for \$300. He

⁹⁵ North, *Production and Supply of Scriptures*, 43.

⁹⁶ Standing Committee Minutes, 13 October 1827, p. 15.

wrote again on September 5, lowering the price to \$200. George Bruce also wrote in May offering the society a quarto Bible in plates, with Apocrypha, marginal notes, and tables, for \$2500, plus another set without marginal references or tables for \$2000. H. H. Phinney in Cooperstown, New York, wrote in October 1826, enclosing samples of his recent quarto Bible. S. Walker in Roxbury, Massachusetts, wrote in October 1829 offering a set of quarto Bible plates in 1385 pages for \$2638.08. John Evans in New York wrote in 1829 about a quarto Bible in plates he had taken on but found it “too heavy a work for me, at present, to sustain.” In nearly all these instances, the managers declined the offers without further consideration.⁹⁷ G. W. Mentz in Philadelphia wrote to the society in November 1829 that he was finishing up a set of plates to a duodecimo New Testament in German and a full German Bible that he could offer to the society at fair prices: Bibles for \$1.00 and Testaments for 27 cents per plate. Not hearing anything, by March 1830 he dropped the price of his New Testament to 24 cents. The society then purchased both sets. Complete books cast into stereotype plates that had been rare commodities when the society was founded in 1816 had by the late 1820s become commonplace.

By 1829, as it began planning for the General Supply, the society had such a large stock of plates on hand that it completed an extensive inventory and condition report.⁹⁸ A few years before, noting that their first sets of plates were almost a decade old, the managers had begun paying closer attention to their condition and making preparations for their eventual replacement. The 1829 inventory notes the condition of a particular set

⁹⁷ General Agent & Accountant Records, RG #19.02, General Correspondence, Box 5, 1823-1825.

⁹⁸ See Appendix D: “Inventory and Condition Report of Stereotype Plates Owned by The American Bible Society, 1829.”

of plates as well as the approximate number of impressions that had been made from it, providing a window into the ways in which the society used its most important assets. The inventory was discussed and used as a planning document for increasing production. “The demand running more on the Minion and Nonpareil Bibles than on any other sizes,” they noted, “and the Soc. Having only one of each and those partly worn,” it made sense to attempt to acquire new replacement sets of each, as both sets would likely be worn out by the time their replacements could be procured.⁹⁹ If two sets of each Bible could be acquired, one could be put into reserve as a backup, and at a lower unit cost. They estimated a set of Minion Bible plates to cost about \$1900, with a duplicate set at \$900, and a Nonpareil Bible to be about the same price. The board also asked the standing committee to make inquiries about an octavo Bible in Pica type, “intended for aged persons,” thus returning to Elias Boudinot’s suggestion from a decade earlier for a larger-type edition.¹⁰⁰ The lowest estimate for a Pica edition was \$3500, and \$450 for a New Testament.

Of the several religious publishers in the United States in 1829, the ABS was the one with the best potential for success to offer a General Supply of scripture to the nation. The Philadelphia Bible Society had continued to publish with their sets of plates, but kept distribution primarily regional. Other organizations were new, such as the American Sunday School Union, founded in 1824 (and which also employed stereotyping from the start), and the American Tract Society, which did likewise from its founding in 1825. Older groups such as the Methodist Book Concern, according to David Paul Nord, only “turned to stereotyping and power printing as part of a modernization effort in 1828-

⁹⁹ Standing Committee Minutes, 4 March 1829, p. 89.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

29.”¹⁰¹ The New England Tract Society, co-founded by Jedidiah Morse in 1814, likewise only began to invest in stereotype plates in 1824. In comparison, commercial publishers such as Harper and Brothers, founded in 1818, and which would become the largest publisher in the United States at mid-century, were also early adopters of stereotyping, but they did not invest in steam power for their presses until 1833. In 1829, they had only one horse-powered press at their printing shop.¹⁰²

Nothing close to a General Supply had ever been considered in Great Britain, despite the longevity and stability of the British and Foreign Bible Society. As Nathan Hatch has written, “Religious print became much more a popular medium and agent of change in America than in Great Britain. There, the flood of religious print after 1800 was largely the product of elites working to shore up an ordered religion.” In America, new evangelical denominations and groups were able to harness printing to differentiate themselves and their aims from the elite, state-sanctioned, Protestant denominations. For Hatch, “The religious press in America, by contrast, sprang from an explicit faith in reason and popular opinion.” This republican ethos deliberately struck out against a Christianity that was tied to aristocratic eighteenth-century privilege.¹⁰³

If early national Christian faith in the United States had strong republican underpinnings, its natural reliance, like that of its Puritan forebears, would have been

¹⁰¹ Nord, “Benevolent Capital,” 156.

¹⁰² Nord, *Faith in Reading*, 53, 69. Eugene Exman. *The Brothers Harper: A Unique Publishing Partnership and its Impact Upon the Cultural Life of America*. New York: Harper & Row, 1965: 17. J. Leander Bishop. *A History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860*. Volume 2. Philadelphia: Edward Young & Co., 1868: 380.

¹⁰³ Nathan O. Hatch. “Elias Smith and the Rise of Religious Journalism in the Early Republic,” in William L. Joyce, David D. Hall, Richard D. Brown, and John B. Hench, eds. *Printing and Society in Early America*. Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1983: 250-277.

directly on emphasizing the word of God as contained in scripture, “without note or comment,” as the American Bible Society explicitly stated. As Gordon S. Wood has written, “The Scriptures were to democratic religion what the Constitution was to democratic politics—the fundamental document that would bind all the competitive American Christian sects together in one national communion.”¹⁰⁴ A General Supply, the product of over a decade of expansion and perfection of a business model for distributing the scriptures, would be the culmination of this republican evangelical movement that had its first stirrings twenty years before with the founding of the first Bible society in Philadelphia.

While the ABS’s technological innovations and New York administration were in place and ready, the speed with which they wished to meet their General Supply was overly ambitious. In the first two years after the announcement, they had only managed to print 480,000 Bibles. Production had the capacity to be scaled up further had they wished, but doubts arose about the ability of the auxiliary Bible societies scattered across the country to carry out their work in the field, canvassing rural America with thoroughness, the “systematic organization” required for success. After two years of concentrated efforts, thirteen states and territories were considered fully supplied, but in the west many areas were not canvassed at all. Auxiliary societies in the west defaulted on their pledges and their payments for books, and the sheer size of rural America proved daunting.¹⁰⁵ A true General Supply might not have been possible in 1829-1831, but together with the other interdenominational evangelical organizations that would be

¹⁰⁴ Gordon S. Wood. *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1815*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999: 611-612.

¹⁰⁵ Nord, “Benevolent Books,” 236.

formed in the antebellum United States, twenty years later some 40 million Bibles had been printed and distributed. In 1855 alone, three organizations: the American Bible Society, the American Sunday School Union, and the American Tract Society would together publish 2.4 million volumes, 15 percent of all books produced in the United States.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Brown, *The Word in the World*, 51.

CHAPTER 4
STEREOTYPE PLATES AS MATERIAL TEXTS:
TRADE SALES, REPRINTING, AND THE BOOK TRADES

*Have fourteen folios, stereotypes
Call'd craniology of snipes,
All which will figure, with propriety,
In annals of a learn'd society.*

— Thomas Fessenden, *Terrible Tractoration*, 1837¹

After a work was stereotyped, its plates were housed in wooden crates, about 24 to a box, warehoused in a secure location, and brought out to be printed from, as needed. No longer did a work need to be composed anew from type when more printed copies were required. For the first time in the history of the printed book, works of authorship became, quite literally, material texts. They were objects of capital investment on the part of publishers, objects that had value in their potential to be printed from, as needed or desired, at any point in the future. Books-in-plates also had the added potential for widespread physical movement and long-term, high-volume reproduction. As objects of capital, they could be bought, sold, used as collateral, and owned by new publishers, long

¹ Thomas Green Fessenden. *Terrible Tractoration and Other Poems*, by Christopher Caustic, M.D. Boston: Samuel Colman, 1837: 22.

after their initial creation. For many works, their lifecycle and reproductive potential extended long after their copyright, if there was one, had expired.

The start of the widespread manufacture and trade in stereotype plates occurred at a point in the early nineteenth century when the United States publishing industry itself was in a prolonged period of significant growth and change. Small, localized printers were beginning to become true publishers in the modern sense, with a greater national interest and orientation. The growth of the printing trades in Philadelphia, Boston, and especially New York in the first decades of the nineteenth century created new opportunities for job printers, typefounders, engravers, and new stereotype foundries. And while there was no true regulation of the printing industry at the national level as in many European countries, several nascent attempts at a nationally-organized system of book trade and distribution were attempted by American publishers during this period. The effects of the adoption of stereotyping intersects with and impacts these areas.²

As we have seen from the example of Mathew Carey acquiring and then selling his New Testament plates in the 1810s in Chapter 2, publishers realized early on that ownership of a set of plates to a certain type of work gave them an advantage in the marketplace. As stereotyping grew more common and a wider variety of genres and titles were cast into plates, a new, national marketplace in used sets of plates inevitably began to develop. Publishers' investments in plates initially cost more than twice the standard composition costs of having a work set up in type. As firms dissolved or went bankrupt,

² Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt. *The Book in America: A History of the Making, the Selling, and the Collecting of Books in the United States*. New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1939: 99-111. See also James N. Green. "The Rise of Book Publishing" in Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley, eds. *An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790-1840*. A History of the Book in America, Volume 2. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010: 75-127.

plates were liquidated to pay creditors. Publishers such as Carey parlayed their investments in plates to acquire new printed stock or to publish joint editions. Publishers could also simply sell their own plates to raise capital for other projects. All these varieties of exchange would have occurred as singular transactions, and the relative paucity of early nineteenth-century American publishers' records (with the exception of Mathew Carey's) offers research challenges to recover the entire scope of the sale and the movement of plates from publisher to publisher in early America.

By mid-century, several more organized alternatives for buying and selling used plates were available to publishers within the trades and will be discussed here. Occasional advertisements for the sale of individual sets of plates appear in the 1850s in newly-established printing trade papers such as *Norton's Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular* and its successor, the *American Publishers' Circular and Literary Gazette*.

An advertisement announcing the sale of the plates and copyrights to Charles Follen's *German Grammar* and his *German Reader* first appeared in *Norton's Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular* in January 1852. It was reprinted regularly in subsequent issues and remained unsold for almost three years, making its final appearance in November 1854 with a new headline: "for sale very cheap."³ The last edition of the *Grammar* had been printed in 1849 by the Boston firm of Philips, Sampson, and Co., which also printed the *Reader* during the 1840s, and who presumably were the sellers of these two sets of plates. Follen, the first professor of German at Harvard and a Unitarian and transcendentalist fellow-traveler, first published his *German*

³ *Norton's Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular* XXI, 1 November 1854: 585.

Grammar in 1827 and his *Reader* in 1831. His works, and presumably these plates, had quite a bit of age on them by the time they were advertised for sale in 1852 and were no longer the only German-language textbooks available in the United States. Superseded textbooks, older reference works, and editions of scripture that had been extensively printed from over many years constitute a substantial proportion of the first plates being offered for sale. The purchaser of a set of plates with a copyright attached had the additional impediment to making a profit from an older work as royalties had to be paid to its author. If that was the case with Follen's works, perhaps it is no surprise that these two German textbooks took so long to sell, if they in fact did sell in late 1854. But even thirty years after being produced, the plates still could be useful in some downgraded segments of the marketplace. An edition of Follen's *Grammar* printed from the 1827 set of plates was published in Boston by James Munroe in 1858, and an edition of his *German Reader* from the 1831 set of plates was printed in New York by Leypolt & Holt as late as 1867, so these plates eventually found new owners.

Advertisements for individual sets of plates were still anomalies. By far the most effective means of buying and selling used sets of plates in the United States was at the newly-organized publishers' trade sales. By the 1830s, the regularization of multiple auction sales within the printing trades and publishing industry is evidence of both a greater organization within the trades and also an increased market for new and used books across the country. Held twice a year in Philadelphia and New York and once a year in Boston, with later sales also taking place in Cincinnati, trade sales offered publishers a chance to sell both new and old stock directly to booksellers from across the country, in person. Smaller, regional booksellers could, in turn, preview and purchase

new titles from multiple publishers at the same time, which had the advantage of offering publishers insight into which types of books were popular in certain markets and geographic areas. The stock that booksellers acquired at these events, by sale and by auction, was often lower in cost than direct sales through the previous, traditional channels. By the 1840s and 1850s, the spring New York trade sale grew into the major North American sale, a two-week extravaganza attracting booksellers and publishers from the entire United States and Canada. Other events during this time included ancillary sales, multiple hosted dinners and banquets, and extensive press coverage, an “old home week” of sorts for the printing trades and publishing industry and a self-generated celebration of the national importance of the American publishing industry. Prior to each sale, printing trade papers often contain advertisements for larger sales or liquidations of publishers’ stock and stereotype plates, either as part of a large invoice of plates at one of the trade sales or at a separate auction held in conjunction with the trade sales around the same time.

In addition to publisher-to-bookseller sales of printed stock, organized auctions of stereotype plates were featured as separate lots included in the sales. Generally held on the final day of the sale, separate lots of stereotype plates were sold from publisher to publisher. Listings of plates occur in the published trade sale catalogs, with unusually larger groupings of plates from a retirement or liquidation often warranting a separate advertisement and notice in trade papers such as *Norton’s Literary Gazette*, the *American Publishers’ Circular*, and, later, *Publishers’ Weekly*.⁴ In the interests of keeping up the

⁴ Printed trade sale catalogs, often with last minute supplements, were brought out by their respective auction houses and are a rich resource for understanding the system of book distribution at this time. Catalogs were printed solely for publisher and bookseller

appearance of growth and progress in the trades, occasional articles in the trade journals report on some of the more notable prices realized at the sales. While some sets of plates sold in the one- to two thousand dollar range, a rough equivalent of their production costs, they are generally anomalies, with most sets of plates realizing much less than the cost of their manufacture. As a proportion of the total items changing hands at the sales, plates made up a modest part, perhaps ten percent of the catalog copy. Despite the regular presence of secondhand sets of stereotype plates at the trade sales, Warren Tryon wrote “primarily the purpose of the trade sale was to sell publishers’ stock to retail booksellers.”⁵

ORGANIZING THE TRADE

Before the trade sales provided a regularized form of sales and exchange, several early attempts were made to organize the book trades in the United States around a European national model, but none achieved any real success. Throughout the nineteenth century, the United States book market was the largest unregulated marketplace in the world, with no national organizations or state-sponsored bodies to provide oversight over production, distribution, sales, or resales. In America, free markets and deregulation ruled.

use, and there is some evidence that they were used at times as tickets of admission to the sale. See especially the June 1832 Boston trade sale catalog housed at the American Antiquarian Society, which contains a printed and signed ticket of admission to the sale on the catalog’s index page. As they had a limited distribution and lifespan, few surviving trade sale catalogs exist.

⁵ Warren S. Tryon. “Book Distribution in Mid-Nineteenth Century America. Illustrated by the Publishing Records of Ticknor and Fields, Boston.” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 41(3) 1947: 223.

Mathew Carey helped organize the Company of Printers of Philadelphia in 1794, but that organization only existed for two years. Carey also suggested in 1801 that an annual book fair, modeled after the fairs in Frankfurt and Leipzig, take place in the United States. After some agreement, a “literary fair” took place in New York the following summer, with New York printer Hugh Gaine presiding over the organization and Mathew Carey as secretary.⁶ The literary fair was intended to connect publishers and booksellers, to help regulate prices for books throughout the country, and to discourage the import of works that were already being printed by domestic shoppes. The fair committee had two representatives each from Philadelphia, New York, and Boston and can be seen as the first national attempt at trade regulation. The organization’s work, and its literary fairs, ended by 1806 due to the limited nature of American book production during a period of strong foreign imports. Carey also attempted, through his involvement in the Booksellers’ Company of Philadelphia, to encourage smaller edition sizes and more frequent press runs to meet current market needs and avoid overstocks that would eventually be sold at a discount at auction.⁷

In 1824, Carey’s son Henry, in one of his own many innovations in publishing, organized the first book trade sale, by and for Philadelphia booksellers. As an American fair modeled on the Frankfurt book fair model, everyone in the trade was invited, but the only sellers were his own firm of Carey & Lea. This model met one need: for publishers to get their stock to booksellers in a more efficient manner than by direct correspondence.

⁶ Charles L. Nichols. “The Literary Fair in the United States,” in *Bibliographical Essays: A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames*. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, Inc., 1967: 85-92.

⁷ See Mathew Carey. *Address to the Booksellers of the United States, From the Booksellers’ Company of Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: T. S. Manning, 1813.

The following year, a more open trade sale was instituted in New York, with a Boston sale beginning shortly after. These sales, together with sales in Cincinnati, operated generally twice a year (or once a year in Boston) for several decades in their respective cities, bringing publishers and booksellers together to exchange new and old stock and eventually also used sets of stereotype plates.

While commerce at the trade sales was initially conducted directly between firms, as they expanded, professional auction houses began to take over their management. The auction house conducted all of the sale administration, publishing catalogs, collecting fees, and distributing the books sold, thus becoming de facto bankers to the printing trades. When the Boston firm of Ticknor and Fields sent shipments to the 1856 New York trade sale, the auction house of Leavitt and Delisser charged consignees a 9.5 percent commission on books, plus fees for cataloging and shipping out the new stock to purchasers. Plates were presumably charged at this rate or at a fixed price slightly lower than 9.5% of value and were able to more than make up that expense in the larger volume of sales they were able to conduct.⁸

As will be shown below, the variety of works in plates that were being brought to the sales for auction do not represent the newest segments of the publishing marketplace. Many sets of plates listed in the trade sale catalogs are to superseded textbooks, older editions of Bibles, and other examples of potentially worn-out stock without a substantial market value. Older, and presumably heavily-used plates to Walter Scott's Waverly novels and Shakespeare also appear with some regularity. If the trade sales were

⁸ Michael Winship. "Getting the Books Out," in Michael Hackenberg, ed. *Getting the Books Out: Papers of the Chicago Conference on the Book in 19th-Century America*. Washington, D.C.: Center for the Book, Library of Congress, 1987: 11.

primarily organized for publishers to sell new and existing stock to booksellers, the marketplace in plates was only, and would remain, a distant second or third in importance after the general socializing and networking opportunities also offered to publishers at the sales. More often than not, the occasions causing stereotype plates to be offered at the trade sales involved bankruptcies, liquidations, and receiverships, or they represented a downward trajectory of a work. Formerly-valuable sets of plates, now decades old and worn down, were sold at modest prices to increasingly downmarket publishers who intended to use them to bring out cheap reprint editions as long as the plates held out. Many of these publishers, especially as markets expanded after the Civil War, had little interest in maintaining high production standards or the textual accuracy necessary to publish a new edition of, say, a schoolbook or grammar.

Prices realized for plates at the sales also present a problem in documentation. While a few auction catalogs that have survived are annotated with results, the new printing trade papers only tended to print a selection of prices from some of the more notable sales, often only to point out a slow sale and the bargains realized there or especially to note highlights from a particularly large or notable sale of plates.

STEREOTYPE PLATES AT THE TRADE SALES

In the earliest cost books of the Philadelphia firm of Carey & Lea, there is a separate trade sale price noted for books, lower than the standard trade price, though it never goes below 10% of wholesale. As David Kaser concludes, “the firm apparently felt that a 10% discount was offset by volume sales and by the lessened necessity for storage

and handling.”⁹ This would have been in addition to the seller’s premium paid to the auction house. Later, arguments made by some publishers against the trade sales stated that this new venue allowed for steadily lower wholesale prices to develop, especially for new stock, thus severely undercutting profits and the market for new works. One result of this practice was an extremely varied set of prices for new books paid by different booksellers, even in the same city, and dependent upon how and where one obtained one’s stock: through direct purchase or exchange, or via the trade sale, where auction prices could fluctuate depending upon the day of the sale, the purchaser’s needs, or their available credit.

The trade sales occurred regularly in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, beginning in the mid-1820s. The first recorded instance of a set of stereotype plates being offered that I have located appears at the August 1833 New York trade sale, a copy of *Mental Treasures*, a 130-page octavo compendium of short essays, including Washington’s farewell address, that was first stereotyped in Philadelphia in 1826. Unlike the sales of Follen’s *Grammar* and *Reader* which took place decades after their casting, this was a short turnaround time from the initial creation of the plates to their secondhand sale. At the trade sales, Daniel Sheehan writes,

After the books had been sold, each trade sale devoted at least one day to an auction of stereotype plates. This part of the proceedings introduced a different set of buyers, the publishers themselves....In contrast to the book auctions, which at their height brought prices permitting a reasonable profit, the disposal of plates under almost any circumstances involved a considerable sacrifice. In 1862, for example, stereotypes valued at \$360,000 were sold for 15 percent of their cost.¹⁰

⁹ David Kaser. “The Origin of the Book Trade Sales,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 50 (1956): 296-302.

¹⁰ Daniel Sheehan. *That Was Publishing: A Chronicle of the Book Trade in the Gilded Age*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1952: 150.

Mental Treasures had either quickly paid its publisher back the initial investment and any likely opportunities for reprintings, or, more likely, it was a forced sale to raise capital to pay debts or for other ventures.

While most plates were given a day to themselves on the final day of the sale, often with miscellaneous lots of stationery and occasional fancy goods, at the March 1835 Philadelphia sale, fourteen works in plates owned by Lilly, Wait & Co. of Boston, along with printed copies of them, were sold in the middle of the sale proper, amidst all the other printed lots. The Philadelphia auctioneers may have been experimenting with the traditional order of the sales in this way to tie lots of printed stock together with their respective plates in an attempt to interest potential purchasers of the stock in their plates as well.

The Boston Trade Sale in June 1836 included twelve sets of stereotype plates, all of which were included within the single invoices of their respective consignees, about five different publishers, and dispersed throughout the catalog instead of clustered at the very end. This also occurred during the Boston sale two year later, though on the last day of the sale a separate auction of 32 plates from the liquidation the American Stationers' Company stock of plates also took place.¹¹ Compared to the Philadelphia and New York sales, appearances of stereotype plates at the annual Boston sale were much less frequent than at the others, and perhaps can account for the different order in which they appeared at auction.

William Charvat, in writing about the complex system of book distribution in nineteenth-century America, remarked,

¹¹ *Eleventh Trade Sale. June 1838. Catalogue of Books to be Sold in Boston, by J. L. Cunningham, at his Auction Rooms....* Boston: Munroe and Francis, 1838. AAS copy.

Somewhat later [in the period 1820-1850], it happened occasionally that a publisher ordered one or more extra sets of stereotype plates. He would sell a set of these to a bookseller, say in Cincinnati, who would print a new title page bearing his own imprint and that of the original publisher. This, again, was a way of dividing risk, for extra sets of plates, inexpensively cast from the same forms as the first set, were sold at a considerable profit, or were paid for by a charge from each copy printed therefrom.¹²

While multiple sets of plates to the same work could be treated this way, especially for a schoolbook, New Testament, or foreign grammar, the vast majority of works only had one set of plates made. Charvat is correct in that there is an advantageous economy of scale for a typefounder and the purchaser having a second or third set of plates from a single setting of type, but the likelihood of multiple sets being produced was not a common practice as they were not generally salable unless directly commissioned. Aside from Bibles and for duplicate plates meant for shipment to Great Britain, one rarely encounters works simultaneously printed from multiple sets of plates at the same time in the United States in different locations.

Other intriguing items appear in some of the early trade sale catalogs. The April 1834 New York sale had two separate invoices of sets of plates to the *Beauties* of Washington Irving offered by different consignors. Some of the early catalogs list plates intermixed with their own publisher's book stock, as placeholders, and then repeat the listing at the end for the final sale grouping, presumably to draw attention to their presence. The final catalog page listing often provides the page number of the main listing in the catalog, where some additional narrative or copyright information about the plates, the presence of illustrations, or the initial cost may be found. One also sees occasional lots of stereotyped illustrations come up for sale in sets, separate from the

¹² William Charvat. *Literary Publishing in America, 1790-1850*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993: 46.

book to which they belong, especially those for illustrated Bibles. The owner of a set of Bible plates could be interested in a set of illustrations to it to expand the range of his variant Bible offerings. Other copied illustration blocks could be reused in multiple works, periodicals, and newspapers as needed.

Stereotype plates, as the most expensive items, were primarily held until the final day of the sale as its capstone event. This forced publishers to stay and attend to their own lots during the sale. Based on their sales volume, the auction house surely calculated that publishers might be more willing to make larger purchases on new sets of plates if they had a good sales week. As the culmination of the events of the week, the plates of United States authors, some of which still had attendant copyrights, also represent a pinnacle of achievement in American literary output *and* mechanical production. As United States publishers became more boastful about their contributions to American nationalism and the creation of a literate American culture, these sales could therefore offer a fitting conclusion to a busy week of buying and selling.

By mid-century, the sales had become established events on North American booksellers' and publishers' annual calendars. In 1851, the fall New York trade sale began on a Wednesday, the third of September, and continued for four days. Books from the catalogues of the sales took up the bulk of the sales time, with the final day, Saturday, reserved for stereotype plates, along with stationery, writing implements, and, at this sale, wallpaper, 100,000 rolls of which were also auctioned off.¹³ In a few years, the New York spring sale would grow to ten days, with auxiliary sales and other events marking it

¹³ Advertisement for the autumn trade sale in *Norton's Literary Advertiser* I (III), 15 July 1851: 24.

as the major literary and book trade event of the year. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated*

Newspaper described, for a national audience, what the atmosphere was like:

To their auction rooms, twice a year, have the booksellers of the Union wended their way, congratulated each other, formed new friendships and cemented old ones, purchased their books, and again departed to their several homes. It is a pleasant feature, that the streams of literature are circulated under auspices so favorable, and that about the business associations of the mind there is so much that is genial, elevating, and humanizing.¹⁴

And they conclude,

We cordially recommend strangers who take an interest in the literary matters of our country, visiting the city at the time of the annual sales, to pay them a visit. It is something to see all publishers together, for they are the men whose united labors circulate the mental wealth of the country, who take the ideas of the authors and stamp upon them the form that facilitates their currency, and to a very great extent give the great public its ideas of their value.¹⁵

Frank Leslie's describes this commercial work of publishers and booksellers with a high tone: the honorable and purposeful spreading of civilization tied to commerce. The trade sales became both a curiosity and a source of pride in a way that combined American manufacturing innovation with literary and cultural achievement.

John Keese, a former publisher and the principal auctioneer at the firms of Lyman and Rawdon and later Leavitt & Company, was a voluble presence at these sales, and did much to make them both profitable and entertaining. At the auction podium, Keese appears in several nineteenth-century literary memoirs as a wit and raconteur, giving life and spontaneous humor to what otherwise might have been the tedious recitation of long lists of book titles from each publisher's lot. The venerable New York bookseller, publisher, and editor Evert Duyckinck remarked, "Few who attended his "Sales" did not

¹⁴ *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 5 April 1854: 263.

¹⁵ *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 5 April 1854: 264.

carry away with them some recollection of his sparkling genius.”¹⁶ As a literary man steeped in printing and publishing, Keese’s wit and astuteness was valued on the auction platform. He kept the trade sales running with enthusiasm, providing entertainment along with the steady business of selling books from publishers to booksellers. In a posthumous memoir, his nephew reported, “It is no wonder that people flocked to the evening sales; and I have heard many say that to go there was as good as a play.”¹⁷ “If John Keese should quit the auction business, I should die of ennui,” remarked one bookseller.¹⁸ In another anecdote meant to show his characteristic spontaneous wit at the podium, on the bidding by one bookseller of twenty-five cents for one single copy of a history of the Battle of Waterloo, Keese was quick to remark, “There was no quarter at Waterloo, my dear sir.”¹⁹ The publisher James T. Fields mentioned Keese in one of his punning trade sale poems written on the auction floor and recited during the Publisher’s Association banquet, “But all were gay, and every one / Before the feast agrees / That, when he wants for food or fun, / He’ll shake a bunch of KEESE.”²⁰

Boasting a circulation of 4,000 at its height, *Norton’s Literary Advertiser* was the largest printing trade publication in the antebellum United States. *Norton’s* covered the trade sales during the 1850s, publishing advertisements from the auction houses announcing the dates and terms of sale for each trade sale along with advertisements from individual publishers noting their offerings, including stereotype plates. Its editorials and

¹⁶ Evert Duyckinck. “Keese-ana.” *Magazine of American History* I (8), August 1877: 497-502.

¹⁷ William L. Keese. “Keese-ana,” *Magazine of American History* I (12), December 1877: 734-739.

¹⁸ William L. Keese. *John Keese, Wit and Litterateur, A Biographical Memoir*. New York: D. Appleton and Company 1883: 66.

¹⁹ Keese, *John Keese, Wit and Litterateur*, 63.

²⁰ Keese, *John Keese, Wit and Litterateur*, 67.

reports on trade sales around the country provide one of the few looks into this aspect of the book trade during this period. On 15 July 1851, *Norton's* reported on the Philadelphia trade sale held by a new firm, M. Thomas & Sons, which did a brisk business, apparently to the surprise of the *Norton's* editorial staff. Thomas had taken over the Philadelphia trade sale business from the firm of George W. Lord, who held the sales throughout the 1840s. A highlight of Thomas's first sale was the stock of stereotype plates owned by Thomas Davis, the surviving partner of M'Carty & Davis, one of the first Philadelphia publishers to commission stereotype plates in the 1820s. *Norton's* saw fit to list the "most important" plates sold and their prices realized:

Purdon's Digest, balance of editions, copy right and stereotype plates, \$1,118.25.
 Sergeant & Rawle's Digest, balance of editions, and do., do., \$6,143.05.
 Bacon's Abridgement, do., do., \$12,596.40.
 Pike's Arithmetic, copyright and stereotype plates, \$1,025.00.
 Key to do., do., do. \$200.00.
 Franklin's Works, do., do. \$1,200.00.
 Brown's Commentaries, do., do. \$1,350.00.
 Byerly's Spelling Book, do., do. \$340.00.
 Shakespeare, stereotype plates, \$1,400.00.
 Hume, Smollett & Miller's History of England, 4 vols., do. \$1,100.00.²¹

Of note here, in addition to substantial prices realized for Sergeant & Rawle and Bacon, is one of M'Carty & Davis's sets of stereotype plates to their Shakespeare, first published in 1823 and cast in New York by the typefounder Jedediah Howe. These plates were among the earliest to arrive in Philadelphia, years before anyone was casting plates in the city. M'Carty & Davis were later able to persuade Howe to come down from New York and set up his foundry in their city as Philadelphia's first stereotyper. This set of plates was their first commission and one of their strongest steady-sellers as an eight-volume duodecimo set and a two-volume quarto edition, brought out as a jointly-

²¹ *Norton's Literary Advertiser* I (III), 15 July 1851: 54.

published venture with Mathew Carey. From a single setting of type by Howe, two different sets of plates were made with different orientations: first the eight-volume duodecimo, and then a two-volume quarto edition.²² Rosalind Remer writes that at some point in the late 1840s, Davis sold one of his two sets of Shakespeare plates to a “persistent publishing firm in Boston,” for \$1500, this set being the other he kept until his retirement.²³ At this sale, American works under copyright were noted as such in the catalogue and sold for prices as high as other sets of works not under copyright.

In its February 1852 issue, *Norton’s Literary Gazette*, the successor to *Norton’s Literary Advertiser*, provided a brief report of the most recent Philadelphia trade sale. Over 200 members of the trade were present, many from great distances in the northeast and the south. It also hinted that the next New York sale would be the largest ever held in the United States, and promised a full report. As the primary organ of the trade, the tone of *Norton’s* almost never failed to be upbeat about the growth and positive future prospects for the American book trade. At this sale, one publisher’s invoice included plates from two London booksellers. Plates from British publishers are rarely found listed under their own lots in the trade sale catalogs. As a transatlantic system of plate distribution began to form, it is likely that a number of sets of British-produced plates were offered up by American publishers for sale with increasing frequency.²⁴

By 1853, booksellers in the United States had several options for obtaining new and older stock over the course of each year. Advertisements on the same page of the

²² Rosalind Remer. “Capturing the Bard: An Episode in the American Publication of Shakespeare’s Plays, 1822-1851.” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 91 (3), September 1991: 327-37.

²³ Remer, “Capturing the Bard,” 335-336.

²⁴ Winship, “Getting the Books Out,” 13.

February 1853 issue of *Norton's* announce the upcoming 40th Philadelphia and 57th New York trade sales on March 9th and 21st, respectively.²⁵ With the Cincinnati sale also taking place on March 21st, American booksellers and publishers could choose where to go to obtain the best stock and plates, and the larger publishers had to expend considerable time preparing their lots and traveling to the sales. Multiple sales in the same season also encouraged competition between publishers to place their stock—and representatives—at all the respective sales.

In this busy spring season, the 15 April 1853 *Literary Gazette* reprinted a two-page article on the trade sales that originally appeared in the *Boston Transcript* showing how the spectacle of the sales was becoming of interest even to the greater public: “All the new books, all the old books, all the literature that can be gathered together, centre in one spot for the space of ten or twelve days.”²⁶ The article reports five or six hundred gentlemen in the audience, “with their huge octavo catalogues spread out like maps of the great literary voyage they are about to undertake for the year.”²⁷ Sales took place between eight thirty in the morning and often ran to eleven o’clock at night. In New York, lunch was provided for buyers and sellers in special dining rooms within the auction house, and the article reports that authors often used the occasion of the trade sales to meet with their publishers and observe the sale of their books. Contemporary newspaper accounts such as these make especial note of the air of conviviality at the sales. Meals were served, toasts were made, and the proprietors of each publishing establishment would often come up on

²⁵ *Norton's Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular* III (2), February 1853: 31.

²⁶ “An Hour at the Book Trade Sales.” *Norton's Literary Advertiser* II (IV), 15 April 1853: 61-62. The three- or four-day sales of the previous decade had grown into nearly two weeks of activity. Sales catalogs from this period top 300 pages.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

stage when their lots appeared to encourage their colleagues along to purchase more items.

The New York Book-Publisher's Association formed in 1855. The following year, it sponsored a new trade sale exclusively for its membership, thus "attempting its right to manage the trade sales."²⁸ Harper & Brothers, the largest publishers in New York, chose not to join, and continued to participate in the other New York trade sale, which ran in parallel to the Book-Publisher's Association sale for several years. One of the Association's membership clauses prohibited its members from offering their stock at any but an Association-sponsored trade sale. Consignees at all the previous sales were permitted to withdraw or multiply their contributions at any time, which many thought led to unfair manipulation of the auction market above and beyond what had already been listed for consignment, an abuse the Association was trying to counter. This apparent manipulation of prices and quantities of stock by larger publishers who could afford it placed smaller publishers at a clear disadvantage which the Association wanted to reform. Their new sale format, with fixed quantities and prices, was considerably more regulated than the previous sales.

By the mid-1850s, the volume of stock exchanged at the sales was considerable. At the March 1854 sale, despite suffering the damage of their warehouse fire the year before, Harper & Brothers sold more than 100,000 items.²⁹ A long report on this sale appeared in the *New York Tribune*, which extensively covered literary New York and the book trades at this time. The publisher George Palmer Putnam hosted a dinner for authors and booksellers at his home during the sale, as well as a second dinner for all participants

²⁸ Winship, "Getting the Books Out," 6.

²⁹ "The Trade Sales." *Norton's Literary Gazette* I (VII), 1 April 1854: 159.

at the Astor House Hotel on the night before the final sales day. The New York Book-Publisher's Association also helped make their New York sale a highlight on the year's cultural calendar, and the closest this country had come to having the equivalent of a national gathering similar to the Frankfurt book fair.

Stereotype plates from the large firm of Putnam & Co. were also sold at this sale, and the reporter here waxed lyrical on the potential for the dissemination of literary works across the country:

Through the indefatigable exertions of Messrs. Barnes, we shall soon see the 'Handbooks of Science and Art' gladdening the eyes of the woodcutter's son on the banks of the Mississippi, and the planter's cabin in the wilds of Texas. From the great variety of channels into which this immense stream of literature has been changed, we can but hope that many portions of our land will be enriched that have heretofore been neglected.³⁰

What is particularly striking in this passage is its allusion to a form of literary manifest destiny: of the potential, through the sale of plates and copyrighted American works, to achieve some sort of longevity and purposeful existence on the part of the book trades in new places and in new markets across the United States. The life, or afterlife, of literary property had been extended because of the trade sale format and its method of shifting capital from owner to owner so that more books could be printed domestically and sent all across the country to American citizens. The publishers and booksellers of America, never humble in their self-congratulatory rhetoric of promoting civilization and American values, here are told they should be encouraged by their collaborative efforts at the sales.³¹

³⁰ "The Trade Sales." *Norton's Literary Gazette* I (VII), 1 April 1854: 159.

³¹ For an excellent introduction to publishers' rhetoric of progress and self-congratulation, see the account of the 1876 American Book Trade Association banquet in Scott E. Casper, "Introduction," in Scott E. Casper, Jeffrey D. Groves, Stephen W.

A short list of eleven sets of plates, with their prices realized and the names of their purchasers, is also present in this article. Some works went for fairly high prices. Putnam's *Homes of American Authors*, presumably a steady-seller, sold for \$2000 to Appletons. A. J. Downing's *Landscape Gardening* went for \$2050 to J. C. Riker, including copyright. Four volumes of Goldsmith's works sold for \$1660 to Leavitt & Allen, and Hawthorne's *Mosses From an Old Manse* was a bargain at \$290, sold to Ticknor, Reed and Fields, and subject to copyright. Ticknor, Reed and Fields were surely glad to be able to consolidate the older works of their current author, Hawthorne, including his copyrights, under their own roof so as to be able to eventually bring out a collected edition of his writings. From this sale of plates, Putnam realized about \$75,000.

One month later, the 1 May *Literary Gazette* listed the entire Putnam list of plates and their purchasers, but did not include prices. 99 separate titles were listed, with the purchasers widely representative of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston publishers. No publisher acquired a disproportionate number of plates. D. Appleton & Co., who owned the largest retail bookstore in America, purchased nine sets of plates for their publishing arm, the largest quantity by any one publisher.

Following the Putnam sales results in the same issue were the titles and purchasers of 75 sets of plates belonging to Abraham Hart from the same sale. From this group, Appleton acquired five sets of plates, with the leading purchaser, at seventeen sets, the Philadelphia firm of Parry & McMillan.

Nissenbaum, & Michael Winship. *The Industrial Book, 1840-1880*. A History of the Book in America, Volume 3. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007: 1-39.

As the largest and most economically viable sale organized by the publishing industry in the United States to date, the sales and the other literary events surrounding it occasionally lapse into nostalgic self-mythologizing by later chroniclers. Given the popular press coverage of the time, this sort of celebratory self-congratulation seems almost inevitable. At the grand Astor House banquet held for members of the Publishers' Association during this sale, the publisher James T. Fields of Ticknor and Fields was called upon to speak. He chose, as was his wont, to read a poem written during the day in the salesroom:

Why will you call for one whose soil
No fruitful harvest yields,
And waste your precious time to-night
On unproductive FIELDS?

Brave plenty spreads her ample board
At PUTNAM'S generous name,
And though he sold his *plates* to-day,
He feeds us just the same.

...

When ANNERS balances his books –
(Good fellow, all have known) –
And PRATT, whose church is finished now,
Is going, going, gone!

Let this be said in sober truth,
Engraven deep and fair –
They lived like brothers here below.
*And now they're happy there!*³²

The presumed conviviality of the trade at this time comes through in these lines, together with Fields's proclivity for making playful puns of his fellow publishers' surnames. The final stanzas promise eternal heavenly reward for the good works done by the members

³² "The Trade Sales." *Norton's Literary Gazette* I (VII), 1 April 1854: 160.

of the trade here on Earth, and the promise of that same conviviality to be shared by them in heaven. It is, perhaps, easy to be convivial when business is uniformly good for all. A later report in *Norton's* gave the revenues for these two New York sales at "about \$350,000."³³

The first trade sale in Cincinnati was held in October 1838, "followed by fifty-three others over a period of thirty-nine years, until the fifty-fourth and last sale was held in October, 1877."³⁴ By the late 1830s, Cincinnati had become the fourth-largest publishing center in the country. Cincinnati publishers grew to become suppliers of schoolbooks for many markets, even back east, and supplied books for the emerging western book trade. The Cincinnati trade sales were advertised early on in newspapers across the country, including Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans and St. Louis. Cincinnati publishers such as U. P. James regularly contributed invoices of stock to the New York trade sales in the later 1840s and 1850s and traveled to New York to acquire new stock at them. By mid-century, Cincinnati was no longer far away from the centers of commerce in the United States, but the perils of distance in the pre-railroad era, together with the substantial volume of stock exchanged at the sales caused occasional problems which were exacerbated by distance. In 1857, James purchased books and stereotype plates at the March sale, paid his invoice on 17 April, and then complained to Leavitt and Company, the auctioneers, on 29 April that he had not yet received shipment of his goods. By 7 May, an incomplete shipment of books arrived in Cincinnati, but did not contain the plates he had purchased. By late May, the plates

³³ "Publishers and Publishing in New York." *Norton's Literary Gazette* I (VII), 1 April 1854: 165.

³⁴ Walter Sutton. *The Western Book Trade*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1961: 266.

arrived, but some were found to be missing and many badly damaged. Two additional boxes of books that he had not purchased also arrived, for which he was charged an additional two dollars freight.³⁵

As the trade sales grew in importance and the spring New York sale began to dominate the annual calendar for publishers and booksellers, the trade sale model was increasingly called out for its unfairness in allowing varying sale prices for new books instead of creating a more uniform market within the trades. An editorial on the need for reforming the trade sales first appeared in a trade paper in March 1855.³⁶ It argued that the time and expense of contributing invoices (lots) to the sales was simply a more expensive way of doing normal business, and that the largest firms benefited most by being better able to offer up their stock for smaller firms to buy. This debate continued throughout 1855 and resulted in the newly-formed Publisher's Association. One of the Association's new reform rules for the sales fixed the quantity of stock offered by publishers at each sale. No overages or side deals after the sale were allowed, something which the larger publishers generally enjoyed doing, as once they found a buyer of interest they could fix a price with them and then amend the quantity above and beyond what was only offered at the sale. Harper & Brothers, the largest publisher in the United States, did not join the newly-formed Association. Harpers instead chose to hold sales of its stock at another New York auction house (Bangs Brothers) outside the association, essentially setting up a parallel trade sale with the old rules intact.³⁷ Harpers' main argument was that the sales needed to be bona fide auctions, where publishers could sell

³⁵ Sutton, *The Western Book Trade*, 273.

³⁶ *American Publisher's Circular* II (5), 1 March 1855: 93-94.

³⁷ See "Harper's Views on the Trade Sales," *American Publisher's Circular and Literary Gazette* I (II), 8 September 1855, together with the editorial response.

as much stock as they wished at a price any individual bookseller would purchase it for. Fixing the price and quantity of the merchandise ahead of time would only limit the trade in its ability to do its work and would inhibit future growth in the trades as well. Harpers also favored the “withdrawal” plan, where a bookseller could remove unsold stock from the sale, or lessen quantities of stock that were offered, depending upon demand. The new requirements stipulated that every book offered at the sales be sold at the sales, a further tightening of regulations. For a time in the mid- to late 1850s, New York held two trade sales in the spring hosted by the two auction houses. A number of smaller publishers followed Harpers and did not join the Association and were able to fill out the catalogs for the Harper-led sale held at Bangs Brothers.

The *American Publishers' Circular* reported favorably on the first trade sale held by the Publisher's Association at the auction rooms of Leavitt and Delisser in 1856, and provided an extensive listing of the final day's sale of stereotype plates.³⁸ Titles and prices realized were noted for some of the sets and included a list of 57 titles. The prices realized for these sets were fairly modest. A 12mo, 404-page edition of Michelet's *History of the Roman Republic* realized \$70 and was noted to have cost \$360. Likewise, Michelet's *Life of Luther* realized \$65, but cost \$234. Two novels by Lady Georgiana Fullerton: *Ellen Middleton* (328 pages, 12mo) sold for \$60, but cost \$245; and *Grantley Manor* (329 pages, 12mo) sold for \$80, but cost \$237. An eight-volume 24- or 32mo pocket edition of Shakespeare, complete with 40 steel engravings and totaling 3693 pages, sold for the very attractive price of \$480. The Booksellers' Association, which sponsored the sale and the *Circular*, was clearly interested in keeping up interest and

³⁸ *American Publishers' Circular and Literary Gazette* II (XIV), 5 April 1856: 205-206.

momentum for their own trade sales, to the detriment of the other trade sale hosted by Bangs Brothers. Putting a positive spin on a list of fairly modest prices realized, this itemization of sold plates was an inducement for the attractive prices being realized for stereotype plates to members of the Association.

At the 1857 fall New York trade sale, all the plates belonging to the firm of Miller & Curtis were sold following the firm's bankruptcy and liquidation. *The New York Daily Tribune* reported that the competition for Miller & Curtis's plates was between a small number of four publishers, and also "the authors, two or three of whom were represented" at the sale.³⁹ A clause included in many book contracts at this time gave the author an option to purchase back the plates to their own works, at cost, either after a certain amount of time had passed, or as a contingency if the publishing firm broke up. In rare cases, such as Longfellow's, in which an author could afford to pay upfront for the production of his stereotype plates, he could usually argue instead for a higher initial royalty or a "rental fee" to the publisher for use of the plates in printing.⁴⁰ The bankruptcy purchase option is what was faced, perhaps most famously in literary history, by Herman Melville at this sale.

In 1857, after years of steadily declining book sales and several different publishers, Melville's publisher at the time, Dix, Edwards and Co., dissolved, the same year they published his *The Confidence Man* and the year after *The Piazza Tales* came out. In his contract, Melville had the option of purchasing the stereotype plates to these

³⁹ *New York Daily Tribune*, 21 September 1857: 3.

⁴⁰ Susan S. Williams. "Authors and Literary Authorship," in Scott E. Casper, Jeffrey D. Groves, Stephen W. Nissenbaum, and Michael Winship, eds. *The Industrial Book, 1840-1880. A History of the Book in America*, Volume 3. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007: 90-116. Charvat, *Literary Publishing in America*, 43.

works for 25% of their initial cost as a contingency. Dix, Edwards & Co. was acquired by the firm of Miller and Co. (and Miller and Curtis after 1 June), but Davis and Gilman write that these attempts to salvage the firm apparently failed completely sometime in August of that year.⁴¹ Both of Melville's new works were being continually advertised for sale nationally during this period, along with the rest of the Dix, Edwards trade list. The Curtis of Miller and Curtis was George William Curtis, the author and, later, editor who was making occasional forays into publishing at this time. As the new partner in the firm, Curtis wrote to Melville on 4 September that the two sets of plates to his works would have to be put up for auction at the trade sale as they were going to liquidate all the remaining assets of the business. This gave Melville the opportunity to exercise his contractual right to purchase them back before that happened.⁴² In a letter to Curtis on 15 September, Melville wrote that he,

can not at present conveniently make arrangements with regard to them [the plates]. It strikes me, though, that under the circumstances (copyright &c) they can bring but little at the Trade Sale, or any other sale. Whereas, if held on to for a while, they might be transferred to me to the common advantage of all concerned.... Do with the plates whatever is thought best.⁴³

Rather than have the plates —and his copyright—exposed to the open market and an unknown purchaser at auction, Melville, writing from his farmhouse in the Berkshires to Curtis in New York, was suggesting that Curtis take on the works himself and hold on to them until a time when they could be useful for reprinting under a new, Curtis-led firm.

⁴¹ Merrell R. Davis and William H. Gilman, eds. *The Letters of Herman Melville*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960: n.9, 188.

⁴² Herschel Parker. *Herman Melville: A Biography. Volume 2, 1851—1891*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002: 354.

⁴³ Melville, *Letters*, 15 September 1857, 188-89.

The plates to *The Piazza Tales* and *The Confidence Man* were offered in the catalog of the Miller & Curtis inventory for the fall 1857 New York trade sale, but the *Daily Tribune* reported in September that “two volumes by Herman Melville were withdrawn.”⁴⁴ Curtis had listened to Melville and pulled the plates, perhaps hoping something could be made of them after a reorganization of the firm, or that Melville might eventually purchase them back. A few weeks later, Melville wrote Curtis again with lessened prospects: “I will try and do something about the plates as soon as I can. Meantime if they bother you, sell them without remorse. To pot with them, & melt them down.”⁴⁵ In 1857, after a series of poorly-selling books, Melville could not afford even the liquidation price of 25% of the cost for the plates to his two most recent books, both of which were still in print. Melville clearly did not purchase the plates back from Curtis, and subsequent correspondence between the two authors made no further mention of them. Both works were not reprinted from their original set of plates, and their fate, like many sets of plates, remains unknown. Melville biographer Herschel Parker speculated that Curtis probably sold them as scrap metal shortly after this incident.⁴⁶

At the same trade sale, Curtis himself was faced with a similar situation, as a five-volume set of plates to his own works was also offered for sale from one of his former publishers, subject to a 12.5% copyright. Each volume started at \$100 and was bid up to \$205 and sold, “to a gentleman who purchased them in behalf of the author.”⁴⁷ Curtis, moreso than Melville, had wealthier New York patrons upon whom he could call for assistance. Other sets of plates sold at that sale were less successful: *Twice Married: A*

⁴⁴ *New York Daily Tribune*, 21 September 1857: 3.

⁴⁵ Melville, *Letters*, 26 September 1857, 189.

⁴⁶ Parker, *Melville*, 355.

⁴⁷ *New York Daily Tribune*, 21 September 1857: 3.

Tale of Connecticut Life, with an attached 10% copyright, was sold on only one bid of \$20 by the firm of Dick & Fitzgerald, even though the plates themselves cost \$133. Production costs of the plates were frequently listed in the trade sale catalogs as a benchmark indicator of value and an inducement to acquire a bargain. Several other works at this sale sold for between 10% and 20% of their cost, and sometimes even less. The *Tribune* saw fit to print a somewhat embarrassing list of works sold off for their value as metal alone, all at less than 10% of cost.

In summing up the results of this sale, the *Tribune* reported that “it seems probable that not one of the volumes had paid for itself, so that Miller & Curtis were like to be exceeding temperate if their only wine was to be drunk out of the skulls of authors.”⁴⁸ If Miller & Curtis purchased the remains of Dix, Edwards & Co. at a bargain price, paid its creditors, and sought to make a profit from the liquidation of its assets in stock and plates at the sale, what the *Tribune* called “drinking wine out of the skulls of authors,” their plan was clearly not successful, and was reported as such by the New York press.

THE HISTORY OF SOLOMON NORTHUP’S *TWELVE YEARS A SLAVE*

It may be helpful at this point to better understand the role of stereotype plates on the secondhand market by stepping back and describing a series of transactions relating to the plates for one work of nineteenth-century literature, tracing them through several different sales and owners. Solomon Northup’s *Twelve Years a Slave* was first published

⁴⁸ *New York Daily Tribune*, 21 September 1857, 3.

in 1853, one year after *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, jointly by the Auburn, New York firm of Derby and Miller and the Buffalo firm of Derby, Orton, & Mulligan. (In subsequent impressions the publisher was Derby, Miller and Osgood and then Miller, Orton & Mulligan). The work was published simultaneously in England by the established London firm of Samson Low, Son & Company. Textually, the first London edition matches its American counterpart exactly. As the setting of type is also exactly the same between the two editions, two sets of plates must have been made in the United States, one of which was sent to England and published there first to secure British copyright. By 1856, its publishers noted the 29th thousand American impression. All of these impressions of the work came from the same set of stereotype plates.

The plates to *Twelve Years a Slave* were offered for sale at the spring 1859 New York trade sale, not by its original publishers, but in a large invoice of 42 sets of plates offered up by a different firm, Campbell & Smith, who had not published an edition from them under their own name. These plates presumably sold at the sale, as an edition of *Twelve Years a Slave* printed from the same set of plates appeared later that year under the New York imprint of C. M. Saxton. Saxton, interestingly, was known primarily as a publisher of agricultural and horticulture books and the journal *The Plow*. He presumably saw a bargain at the trade sale for a worn steady-seller that could bring him a modest return, despite the tens of thousands of copies already printed in the United States during the previous six years.

The next edition of *Twelve Years a Slave* was published just after the Civil War in Philadelphia by the Keystone Publishing Company. It, too, was printed from the same set of plates as the 1853 Auburn and Buffalo and the 1859 New York editions. But in this

edition, the original two-page editor's preface of 1853, which had appeared in all previous editions, was replaced with a new two-page Publisher's Preface that began, "Slavery is now one of the institutions of the past."⁴⁹ The same set of plates was used to print the book, including the original table of contents plate, which listed the editor's preface on pages fifteen and sixteen and had not been altered to note the updated "Publisher's Preface."

One more edition of *Twelve Years a Slave* appeared in the nineteenth century, published in New York by the International Book Company, cheap reprint publishers, sometime around 1890. It, too, was printed from the same set of plates as the 1853 first edition and all subsequent editions, and it included the postbellum Publisher's Preface. By this time, the copperplate illustrations that were used in each previous edition to accompany the text had long since worn out and were not included. The list of illustrations on the bottom half of the last page of the table of contents is not present in this edition, evidence that the plate was cut in half to excise the illustration list. Otherwise, the setting of the text is identical, down to the misnamed Editor's Preface appearing at the beginning of the table of contents for pages fifteen and sixteen, all unchanged from the 1853 edition. After that, presumably worn out from 40 years of impressions and at least five different owners, the plates, and the work itself, disappear.

⁴⁹ Solomon Northup. *Twelve Years a Slave: The Thrilling Story of a Free Colored Man, Kidnapped in Washington in 1841, Sold Into Slavery, and After a Twelve Years' Bondage, Reclaimed by State Authority From a Cotton Plantation in Louisiana*. Philadelphia: The Keystone Publishing Company, n.d. (not before 1865).

SALES OF PLATES DURING THE WAR YEARS

During the Civil War, Northern publishers and booksellers consolidated to some extent to adapt to a smaller market, distribution areas, and networks. Melissa Homestead has shown convincingly how some Northern publishers took advantage of the war situation by purchasing plates of Southern authors at the trade sales, knowing that any subsequent owner of an edition printed from those plates would have no legal obligation to pay its authors their share of the original copyright agreement.⁵⁰ She discusses a *New York Tribune* article on the 1862 trade sale in which a “Mr. Scott” purchased the plates to Alabama author Augusta Evans Wilson’s novel *Beulah* for \$205 after its publisher, Derby & Jackson, went bankrupt and their stock and plates came up at auction, noting “there is small chance of there being much copyright paid to the authoress hereafter, for she is a rank Rebel, and a nurse in a Southern Hospital.”⁵¹ The plates then changed hands from Mr. Scott to the New York firm of Carleton, who brought out a new edition of *Beulah* in 1863.

Wilson understood her situation in the literary marketplace and worked to regain the best possible advantages for her works. For her subsequent book, *Macaria*, a Southern novel about women’s work during the war written while she was serving as a Confederate nurse, Wilson managed to send an early copy of the manuscript to a New York publisher, in the same manner as one would send an advance copy to a British publisher to secure a first printing in Great Britain and thus preserve her copyright

⁵⁰ Melissa Homestead. *American Women Authors and Literary Property, 1822-1869*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005: 218.

⁵¹ Reprinted in the *American Publishers’ Circular and Literary Gazette* VIII (10), 1 November 1862: 115.

“internationally” by securing a Northern edition. This strategy worked, as *Macaria* was published in 1864 in both New York and Richmond editions. Her contract with Richmond publishers West and Johnston brought her notoriety but little money, while her contract with J. C. Derby for the New York edition provided her and her family with much-needed support for the rest of the war years.⁵²

Wilson’s first novel, *Inez*, published anonymously by Harper & Brothers in 1854, also became a contested literary property during the war, stemming in part from the success of *Beulah* and contemporary interest in novels of Southern life during the war years. New York publishers Bradburn and Doolady purchased the Harper-made stereotype plates to *Inez* at an 1862 trade sale and began advertising their forthcoming edition of it in January of 1864, noting that it was “by Miss Evans, author of *Beulah*,” to capitalize on *Beulah*’s success and also to let its purchasers believe it was a new Southern novel about the war. Bradburn and Doolady clearly felt no obligation to renegotiate any new copyright terms with their new author after her original Harper & Brothers agreement had ended.⁵³

At that same 1862 fall trade sale, it was reported that the sales value of stereotype plates relative to their cost of production was about fifteen percent.⁵⁴ The article speculated that three years prior, before the book trades were interrupted by the war, most plates would have brought twice that amount. But, as a positive example of the briskness of the trade (and because most of these articles insist on positive futures for the trades, even in hard times), it concluded by stating that some publishing houses clearly had extra

⁵² Mary Kelley. *Private Women, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984: 173-174.

⁵³ Homestead, *American Women Authors*, 220.

⁵⁴ *American Publishers’ Circular and Literary Gazette* VIII (10), 1 November 1862: 115.

capital to invest in plates, despite the tough times of war, which raised paper costs alone 20 to 25 percent in just two years: “The plates which have changed owners are to be laid away in vaults until the troublous times are past, and commercial skies brighten.”⁵⁵ Plates were clearly seen within the book trades as a form of long-term capital investment, to be utilized for advantage at the proper moment.

At the same sale, the stereotype plates to Fanny Fern’s *Ruth Hall*, which had sold some 70,000 copies in the previous decade, went for only \$25, along with an additional \$25 for her *Fresh Leaves*. Works by Jane Austen, Hannah More, and Anne Radcliffe did only slightly better, selling for about \$50 per volume, and a duodecimo *Pilgrim’s Progress*, a steady-seller with a solid market value, was bid up to \$137.50. The reporter remarked, “The standard ancient classics in 8vo. brought only \$44, and a pretty series of modern classics \$12, both of which were dog cheap at twice the money.”⁵⁶ Likewise, another investment property was secured for a modest sum:

Mary Forrest’s *Women of the South Distinguished in Literature*, which glorified her heroines on steel and in long-primer, to the tune of \$3,250 was started at \$50, and dragged on and hung, until Hazard of Philadelphia, with an eye to the future, bid an even \$100, and got the plates.⁵⁷

THE POSTWAR YEARS AND PARCEL SALES

After the Civil War, the trade sales continued for another decade, but became even less advantageous to publishers. Jobbers—middlemen who sold stock to booksellers—became increasingly prominent in the trades, thus eliminating one of the

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

prime purposes of the sales. Publishers who needed quick infusions of cash could still sell at auction, but as the largest firms grew, they found less need to sell stock and plates this way. Charles Madison claims that James R. Osgood & Company in Boston was “chronically in need of cash” after the war and was the most frequent publisher to contribute stock to the trade sales in order to raise funds.⁵⁸ A vicious cycle continued for several years where Osgood was forced to sell fairly new stock at reduced prices at the sales in order to maintain his business in offering even newer stock. According to trade notices and articles in *Publishers’ Weekly*, his large spring 1876 liquidation sale of plates to works by European authors was a way of shifting his focus more attentively on American literature, but it was also an attempt to break out of this cycle of dependency. Madison goes so far as to call it a “distress sale” where “each sale thus chipped away a sizable chunk of his fine list.”⁵⁹ Osgood’s plan worked, at least in the short term, as he raised \$110,000 from his offering of nearly 500 plates and stock. The following year, 1877, he sold additional 130 titles to Houghton: plates, copyright and stock, and also sold off *The North American Review* to right his business, but to no avail. James R. Osgood, a much better editor than businessman, was forced to merge his firm with Houghton and Mifflin in 1878 to form Houghton, Osgood and Company.

Winship notes that by 1875, “the regular trade sales were suspended and replaced by a series of book fairs organized by the American Book Trade Association.”⁶⁰ The

⁵⁸ Charles A. Madison. *Book Publishing in America*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966: 144.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Michael Winship. “Distribution and the Trade,” in Scott A. Casper, Jeffrey D. Groves, Stephen W. Nissenbaum and Michael Winship. *The Industrial Book, 1840-1880. A History of the Book in America*, Volume 3. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007: 126.

Association, which had formed in 1855 as the New-York Book-Publisher's Association and had since grown into a national trade association, continued through the war years, the longest-lived book trade association to exist in the United States to date. The book fair was no longer an auction but a fixed-price semiannual sale of new stock by publishers to booksellers.

In January 1876, *Publishers' Weekly* announced the introduction of a new "remainder sale" at the spring New York book fair to take the place of the now defunct trade sale auctions of old stock.⁶¹ This was the beginning of the modern practice of publishers offering remaindered editions for sale, and of dealers who specialize exclusively in remaindered stock. The same issue included a full-page advertisement from George Leavitt & Co., the former trade sale auctioneers, announcing and detailing the formation of the Booksellers' Exchange and Clearing-House in Clinton Hall on Astor Place in New York. The Booksellers' Exchange would host the spring and fall book fairs for the American Book Trade Association. At the close of the fair, a sale would take place that would include remainder stock, clearance stock, and stereotype plates. The bulk of the fair would be devoted exclusively to new titles. A strict separation was to take place between new stock and the catalog of remainders and plates being offered on the final sale day so that no side deals or other trading would take place during the sale proper. The Association's reforms were intended to curb the practice of wide fluctuations in prices for new stock at the auction sales and also to prevent new stock from being introduced at varying prices along with older stock in the same publisher's auction lots.

⁶¹ *Publishers' Weekly* IX (211), 29 January 1876: 112.

An editorial in the next issue on the change supported the Association line that the previous trade sale system was flawed and unfair for book sales because of the price fluctuations.⁶² Stereotype plates, as more unique commodities, were essentially unaffected by this shift in orientation. They would still be sold twice a year in New York at auction; they would be announced in a printed catalog issued just before the sale; and they would be sold on the final day of the fair. In the postwar years, the growth of cheap reprint publishers flooding the marketplace and the rise of cheap books as retail loss leaders in establishments such as drugstores had some impact on the attention paid to secondhand stereotype plates, as can be seen from the postwar cheap reprint editions of Solomon Northup's *Twelve Years a Slave*. Older, worn plates might have some added value for cheap, less-than-perfect reprints for the right publisher. One significant change in the Association's membership at this time was the addition of Harper & Brothers, the largest Association holdout from twenty years before, when attempts to reform the trade sale system along these same lines resulted in two parallel trade sales occurring, Harper being the largest volume publisher not agreeing to the Association's original terms. By the time of the United States centennial celebrations of 1876, the largest American publishers were all united at last into one book trade organization that agreed on uniform conditions for the operation of their businesses.

The 25 March 1876 *Publishers' Weekly* reported on the first few days of the new book fair in New York while it was still underway. Sales were sluggish due to the economy, they reasoned, and the first day of the sale of plates and remainders went equally slowly, with most sets of plates going for the cost of the metal alone. The report

⁶² *Publishers' Weekly* IX (212), 5 February 1876: 167-168.

ended with speculation about the first large sale of plates from James R. Osgood & Co. the following week in which more than \$300,000 of capital in the form of plates was to be sold along with \$125,000 of his printed stock.⁶³

The Osgood collection was the largest quantity of stereotype plates brought up for sale to date. Over four hundred works were to be sold, including sets of plates to Dickens, Scott, Thackeray, Austen, and other popular steady-sellers. British and European literature, travel writing, classical works in English, and children's literature were also included in the sale. Osgood took out a three-page advertisement in the 4 March *Publishers' Weekly* to announce the sale and list the plates to be sold later that month, which was to take place as a separate sale, just after the spring book fair in New York.⁶⁴

Publishers' Weekly wrote, "Some publishers take pride in never letting go their hold on any book they have published. Evidently Messrs. Osgood & Co's pride does not take this course, and they have no scruples against disposing of the plates of highly valuable works."⁶⁵ In addition to his professed new focus on American literature, Osgood was also experimenting with the printing of heliotypes, a new illustration process, and used this as another excuse for selling off his European works. And if many of his plates were not old and worn, the grand scale of this sale presented a significant opportunity for newer publishers to invest in solid, steady-selling titles. Just before the New York book fair, on 18 March, an additional, separate sale of plates and remainders from the Philadelphia firm of Hunt & Congdon also took place, in Philadelphia, making the spring of 1876 the high-water mark for the sale of stereotype plates in the United States.

⁶³ *Publishers' Weekly* IX (219), 25 March 1876: 400.

⁶⁴ *Publishers' Weekly* IX (216), 4 March 1876: 271-273.

⁶⁵ *Publishers' Weekly* IX (216), 4 March 1876: 285.

Publishers' Weekly suggested to its readership that they conveniently stop in Philadelphia for this sale on their way to New York. A half-page advertisement for the Hunt & Congdon sale, listing 30 different titles in plates, most of them schoolbooks, appeared in the 11 March issue.

In April, *Publishers' Weekly* reported fully on the round of March sales. At the remainder sale at the end of the trade fair, 16 sets of plates were offered, with prices realized and their purchasers noted in the report. None sold for more than \$50 per set, and most for \$25 and under. Under a heading titled "The Estate of H. T. Tuckerman" it was noted that "These plates of the late Mr. Tuckerman's works, it was understood, had been stored in the Messrs. Leavitt's [the auctioneers] cellars so long that their ownership had been forgotten."⁶⁶ To close Tuckerman's accounts, a 320-page set of duodecimo plates to the *Thoughts on the Poets* sold for only \$15 to a Mr. Jenkins. Likewise, *A Month in England*, a 240-page duodecimo, went for \$10, and the *Sicily Pilgrimage*, 188 pages, went for just \$5, all to Jenkins. This was not an auspicious start to the most ambitious sales season ever.

The reports from the main fair were similarly not encouraging. *Publishers' Weekly* concluded it was the lack of sufficient buyers to make the fair viable for sellers to bring their stock, not the new format of the fair. They defended the new fixed-price system, stating that the results would have been even more disastrous if the old system of price auctioning had been in place. Fallout from the Panic of 1873 and the resulting Depression of the mid-1870s was clearly impacting the printing trades. The one bright spot that spring was the large sale of Osgood's plates, which *Publishers' Weekly*

⁶⁶ *Publishers' Weekly* IX (220), 1 April 1876: 432.

speculated could only strengthen the trade as a whole and justify the remainder sales model.

The Osgood sale took place over two days, March 28th and 29th, following the trade fair proper. Total quantities approached nearly 500 sets of plates, with the production cost over \$300,000. The additional 75,000 volumes of stock to be sold was valued at \$125,000 retail. *Publishers' Weekly* reported,

There has been no such offering as this for nearly twenty years, and it is likely that the results will outreach those of any sale ever held in the American trade: the sale of Abraham Hart, in Philadelphia, in the summer of 1854, amounting to something over \$80,000; that of G. P. Putnam, in New-York, immediately following, to a few thousands less; that of Phillips & Sampson, in Boston, in 1859, to about \$107,000 as nearly as we can get the figures. The present sale, according to Mr. Osgood's own estimate, will aggregate between \$105,000 and \$110,000, of which the plates brought in the neighborhood of \$60,000.⁶⁷

Because of the substantial quantities of plates and stock present, along with their subject matter, the sale brought an inordinately large group of publishers and booksellers together:

There were between 80 and 120 buyers present in the auction rooms at any one time. Nothing very lively occurred until the Dickens series was reached, when the entire assemblage seemed to warm up to the work and get, each man of them, personally interested. The sales of the four sets of plates reached the large sum of \$14,215, and the 15,000 volumes of stock brought the total nearly up to \$25,000.⁶⁸

The great event of the sale was the auction of the plates to Thackeray's works on the second day. Harper & Brothers opened with a bid of \$360, which was answered steadily by a number of prominent publishing houses, including Hurd & Houghton and Lea & Shepard. "The bidders and a good part of the crowd rose to their feet in their excitement," *Publishers' Weekly* reported, "and one might have supposed that the Gold

⁶⁷ *Publishers' Weekly* IX (220), 1 April 1876: 436.

⁶⁸ *Publishers' Weekly* IX (220), 1 April 1876: 437.

Exchange itself had sent a delegation to make matters lively at the quiet book-room....Considerable surprise was expressed when they reached the high price of \$515 a volume.”⁶⁹ This price was paid by the Philadelphia firm of Lea & Shepard, who also purchased the Household Dickens, together totaling about \$9000. Houghton purchased the “Library” Dickens, in a larger format, together with the works of De Quincey and a set of plates to Scott’s Waverley novels for just over \$17,000. The plates to a set of Jules Verne also aroused considerable interest, selling for nearly \$7000.

Those to whom the sale was of most service were, as some one said at the Fair, of three classes: publishers just starting business, or who had but small lists which they wished to extend; the owners of printing establishments which they wished to keep busy, who would naturally seek the plates; and the jobbers and larger retailers who had the capital and custom to handle the stock....It is rather curious to note that the presence or absence of copyright on a book seemed to make very little difference on the price.⁷⁰

The sale certainly offered the opportunity for the large-scale redistribution of plates across the entire United States publishing industry. Osgood was able to raise a significant amount of cash, at least for one more year, and the trades seemed satisfied on the whole.

In another shift away from the trade sale auction format, New York auctioneers Bangs Brothers began to offer a “parcel sale” twice a year beginning in the 1870s that was almost as popular as the trade fair. It was first distinguished by its emphasis on foreign titles and then shifted to supply more remaindered stock to the trades. After the trade sales shifted into trade fairs with fixed-price used stock sales at their conclusion, Bangs Brothers continued with parcel sales in the auction format until 1903. Following this, the Syndicate Trading Company and other cheap book specialists and distributors

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

took control of the remaindered book market in the United States.⁷¹ Bangs Brothers attempted to hold a sale of remainders and plates in 1895, which *Publishers' Weekly*—the organ of the Association—disapproved of, calling it just another revival of the “old evils of the trade sales.”⁷² By the turn of the century, the ideal of an organized and united American book trade had still not been realized, quite. The marketplace had changed and expanded in new ways beyond what institutions like the American Book Trade Association could have expected and could control. Cheap reprint publishers and book distributors filled, at least in part, some of the earlier roles of the trade sales and secondhand marketplace in books and plates as the industry continued to expand in size and volume.

⁷¹ Daniel Sheehan, *That Was Publishing: A Chronicle of the Book Trade in the Gilded Age*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1952: 158.

⁷² *Publishers' Weekly* XLVII, 19 January 1896: 58-60.

CHAPTER 5

STEREOTYPING IN LITERATURE, LANGUAGE, AND MATERIAL CULTURE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA

Democracy not only infuses a taste for letters among the trading classes, but introduces a trading spirit into literature.

—Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 1835¹

As publishers celebrated what they claimed was increased textual accuracy and authority resulting from casting and printing with stereotype plates, a multiplicity of new forms of copying and printing in the nineteenth century instead served to challenge notions of authority. While publishers celebrated stereotyping as a positive advancement, greater doubts about mechanical reproduction and the proliferation of mechanically-created print culture spread subtly outward from the printing trades into broader parts of popular culture. This chapter examines some of the ways in which printing with plates resonated with and impacted aspects of nineteenth-century cultural life, beginning with its connections to authorship, its uses in common language, and in African-American printing and publishing. This discussion will show how some of the new meanings created by the introduction and popularization of stereotyping and electrotyping became infused into the language of everyday life. Common understandings of technologies of mechanical reproduction first encountered in the printing trades became larger metaphors

¹ Alexis de Tocqueville. *Democracy in America*. Volume II, Book I, Chapter XIV (1835). New York: Vintage, 1990: 61.

used by individuals attempting to understand the implications of technological change, industrialization, new economies, and race relations.

In literary studies, the canonical interpretation of the relationship between nineteenth-century American authors and technology has long stated that American Romanticism (at least as expressed through the authors of the American Renaissance) either expressed itself in opposition to technological advances or was at best ambivalent about them.² A work such as Thoreau's *Walden* was seen as the epitome of this sensibility. If, as Leo Marx has argued, the mechanization of American life through industrial advances and the growth of factories and industry spoiled the inherently naturalistic aspects of American thought, life, and aspiration, then the role of the individual, especially as a single authorial voice, became diminished. This sensibility, however, was at odds with the widespread and mostly uncritical embrace of technology by the American people throughout the nineteenth century. As Klaus Benesh writes,

Given the pervasiveness, and, what is more, rhetorical fervor with which nineteenth-century Americans embraced technology as the new driving force of cultural development, the literary writers of this period were clearly at a loss as to how they should define their professional identity.³

Benesh argues that technology not only challenged the autonomy of an American authorial identity, but it also offered alternatives from the singular vision of individualistic expression commonly understood in these authors towards an ideology that instead favored, at least in part, the replacement of the body by the machine.

² F. O. Matthiessen. *American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman* (1941). New York: Barnes and Noble, 2009; Leo Marx. *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (1964). New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

³ Klaus Benesh. *Romantic Cyborgs: Authorship and Technology in the American Renaissance*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002: 12.

Other recent scholarship tends to complicate this relationship, instead seeking to better understand how a multiplicity of American authors directly interacted with technology, actively considered its implications, and even saw some scientific and technological advances as positive forces. The “question of technology” and its role in defining an American literary sensibility is much more complex, and the challenges to American identity that technological advances made to authorial perceptions of self and nation continue to be explored in greater depth.⁴

Stereotyping, a fully-realized innovation in the printing trades by the 1820s, would have been familiar to many nineteenth-century authors from its outset, and especially to the many authors who had backgrounds in journalism and other direct connections to the printing trades. Edgar Allan Poe’s 1845 essay “Anastatic Printing” argues for the great authorial advantages of an even-newer process that could bypass stereotyping altogether. Anastatic printing, at least as Poe understood it, could capture an author’s own hand exactly as it was written on the page. In this process, a written or printed text was treated with an acid solution and pressed on a zinc plate so that it etched out the empty space, creating a positive plate of the source document. Using anastatic printing, Poe wrote, “anything written, drawn, or printed, can be made to *stereotype itself*, with absolute accuracy, in five minutes.”⁵ Here, technology permitted the author an extreme level of control to effectively self-stereotype their work without the intervention

⁴ See, for example, J. Adam Johns. *The Assault on Progress: Technology and Time in American Literature*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008; Mark Seltzer. *Bodies and Machines*. London: Routledge, 2015; David E. Nye. *American Technological Sublime*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994; and David E. Nye. *Narrative and Spaces: Technology and the Construction of American Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

⁵ Edgar Allan Poe. “Anastatic Printing.” *Broadway Journal*, 12 April 1845: 229-231 (cited 230, emphasis mine).

of secondary, alienating editors or printing trade craftsmen, effectively automating the creative process and bringing authors into near-intimate contact with their readership through the direct impressions left by their own hands onto paper.

In citing its advantages, Poe noted that authorship had become stale and conventional as authors were forced to conform to the styles, use of language, and format that publishers demanded. Anastatic printing allowed an author the freedom to create a manuscript exactly as he wished, inserting drawings or diagrams, and then generate the plates himself to offer to a publisher, or to self-publish. These plates, which would not use conventional type in their preparation, would appear to be something like the relief etchings that William Blake had created for his own books a half-century before. Poe argued that textual accuracy would no longer be a concern, and the scribal profession would thrive as the reading public moved away from the convention of expecting to read standard printed letterforms. Readers would instead come to prefer the immediacy and connection realized by reading authors in their own hands, technologically reproduced in a finished book. The most important advantage Poe saw in this process was its potential to shift the balance of the combination of literary and material value contained in a conventionally-printed book away from its material value as a unit of publisher's profit *back* to having an emphasis on its literary value. Poe noted that when publishers were forced to value works by deciding which were to be stereotyped and which were not, the capital invested in this physical literary property swayed every publisher's decision going forward, often to the detriment of literary value and authorial interest:

The value of every book is a compound of its literary value and its physical or mechanical value as a product of physical labor applied to the physical material. But at present the latter value immensely predominates, even in the works of the most esteemed authors. It will be seen, however, that the new condition of things

will at once give the ascendancy to the literary value, and thus by their literary values will books come to be estimated among men....In the new regime, the humblest will speak as often and as freely as the most exalter, and will be sure of receiving just that amount of attention which the intrinsic merit of their speeches may deserve.⁶

Poe's democratic vision of authorship, bypassing publishers and speaking directly to a readership, alas, never came to pass. Some echoes of this leveling of speech between the humble and the powerful can certainly be seen in contemporary self-publishing and 'zine culture, the web, blogs, and artists' books, but this was a mostly isolated phenomenon in the nineteenth century, with one especially notable exception.

Like Poe before him, Walt Whitman wanted to control the textual accuracy, appearance, and distribution of his literary output. Unlike Poe and most authors, then or since, Whitman mostly succeeded. If Poe's vision of technology freeing authors to somehow create a new and more personal bond with their readers was not realized in this or any other form of plate-making, engraving, or lithographic process experimented with over the course of the nineteenth century, Whitman, throughout his poetic career, continually sought out ways to make his work appear to his readers in the singular way in which he envisioned them. The 1855 self-published first edition of *Leaves of Grass* was printed from type, some of which Whitman set himself in the Rome brothers' Brooklyn print shop, in a large-format edition of about 795 copies. But the following year, upon bringing out an expanded self-published edition of the work, this time as a smaller, more conventionally-sized volume, Whitman paid to have plates made of it, surely anticipating

⁶ Poe, "Anastatic Printing," 231.

multiple reprints over time now that the work better resembled a conventional book of poetry.⁷

Whitman wrote the following to Emerson in August 1856, presenting him with a second edition copy of *Leaves of Grass*:

Here are thirty-two Poems which I send you, dear Friend and Master, not having found how I could satisfy myself with sending any usual acknowledgement of your letter. The first edition, on which you mailed me that till now unanswered letter, was twelve poems—I printed a thousand copies, and they readily sold; these thirty-two Poems I stereotype, to print several thousand copies of. I much enjoy making poems.⁸

Whitman is bragging to Emerson about bringing out a second edition in stereotype, but his reference to enjoying “making poems” clearly has a dual meaning. Like Blake before him, he was both the author and “maker” of his book, the creator and the craftsman/artist responsible for bringing his singular vision of how a poem should appear to its readers. As a former printer and journalist, Whitman was in the best position to use the technologies of the printing trades and popular journalism to best achieve his artistic vision. Fowler and Wells, the progressive phrenological publishers who distributed his 1855 edition, also served as the unacknowledged publishers of the 1856 edition. They advertised it as a “neat pocket volume,” recently stereotyped in an edition of 1000 copies, with themselves acting as agents.⁹ Sales of the new edition, however, were not strong, and a reprint from the stereotype plates was never made. Four years later, Whitman

⁷ William White. “The First (1855) ‘Leaves of Grass’: How Many Copies?” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 57 (Fall 1963): 352-354. Joel Myerson. *Walt Whitman: A Descriptive Bibliography*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993: 17, 25.

⁸ Walt Whitman to Ralph Waldo Emerson, August 1856. Transcript added to 1856 second edition of *Leaves of Grass*, p. 346. Whitman Archive: <http://whitmanarchive.org/published/LG/1856/whole.html>, accessed 2 April 2018.

⁹ Madeleine B. Stern. *Heads & Headlines: The Phrenological Fowlers*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971: 119.

successfully negotiated with the Boston publishers Thayer and Eldridge to bring out a more conventionally-published third edition, having added still more poems to the book and made textual changes to some of the earlier poems. The fate of Whitman's second edition *Leaves of Grass* stereotype plates is not known. Textually inaccurate by 1860, they were likely sold and melted down as scrap metal, the common fate of outdated or worn stereotype plates.

Paths to authorship and the ways in which authors negotiated the expanded publishing landscape in the two decades before the Civil War have been the subject of much recent scholarship, adding depth to our understanding of the multiplicity of antebellum literary culture as well as the multiple paths to authorship by men and women from considerably-varied backgrounds.¹⁰ In printing and publishing during these decades, power presses were implemented, national distribution methods greatly expanded, and new venues for authorship, especially in the periodical press, grew and proliferated. The literary landscape and marketplace of the 1840s and 1850s was vigorous and complex in a way that it had not been a generation before.¹¹

Literary works as a genre were less likely to be cast into plates by their publishers. The potential demand for reprinting novels by even established authors was not as well understood and hence a greater risk than stereotyping a steady-selling schoolbook. There

¹⁰ David Dowling. *Capital Letters: Authorship in the Antebellum Literary Market*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2009; Michael J. Everton. *The Grand Chorus of Complaint: Authors and the Business Ethics of American Publishing*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011; Meredith McGill. *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834-1853*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003; Michael Newbury. *Figuring Authorship in Antebellum America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

¹¹ John Tebbel. *A History of Book Publishing in the United States. Volume I. The Creation of an Industry 1630-1865*. New York: R. R. Bowker, 1972. See especially Part Four: "The Rise of Modern Publishing."

were exceptions: Harper & Brothers decided early on, in the 1820s, to stereotype the majority of the new books they published, regardless of genre, reasoning that they would have more capital invested in plates for use later on than having to pay multiple composition costs, and that the balance of expenditures between reprinted and nonreprinted works would lean toward making a greater initial capital investment.¹² Later on, they would strike agreements with their authors so much of the costs of production, including the casting of plates, came out of the author's royalties. By contrast, as late as 1850, the Boston literary publisher Ticknor and Fields chose to have two editions of Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* composed and printed from type before finally investing in a set of plates for the third edition, despite Hawthorne's already stellar reputation as an author of short stories and a readership that seemed ready-made to purchase his first novel. Michael Winship speculates that one explanation for this ultimately costly decision may lie in the fact that Ticknor and Fields was expanding its list at the time and may not have wanted the additional upfront expense of paying for plates (roughly twice the cost) in addition to composition. Harper & Brothers' early business model of making plates for most books proved the exception, rather than the norm, for literary fiction until well into mid-century.¹³

Some successful authors, Longfellow most notably, chose to embrace the new opportunities afforded to them in working with publishers printing their works from

¹² Eugene Exman. *The House of Harper: One Hundred Fifty Years of Publishing*. New York: Harper & Row, 1967: 10.

¹³ Michael Winship. "Hawthorne and the 'Scribbling Women': Publishing *The Scarlet Letter* in the Nineteenth-Century United States." *Studies in American Fiction* 29 (1) 2001: 3-11 (cited 4-5). See also Michael Winship. *American Literary Publishing in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: The Business of Ticknor and Fields*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002: 103-106.

plates. Washington Irving struck a very advantageous agreement with Henry C. Carey in Philadelphia for stereotyping and reprinting rights to his early novels. Other authors, like Melville, found new publishing models initially advantageous but later crippling as his popularity and readership declined with each passing book. The dominant publishing model of the early nineteenth century was for a publisher to purchase an author's copyright to a work outright, or for a set number of years in exchange for a lump-sum payment. A few decades later, a shared profit model on works was often arranged between author and publisher where the author retained copyright but only received payment after the expenses related to publication were met by initial sales. Thus for a poorly-selling work, the publisher at least could recoup much of the expenses related to production, often to the author's disadvantage. As stereotyping became a viable option for literary works, some publishers allowed authors to pay for the cost of stereotyping out of advance profits, thus allowing them to own their own plates, and with which they could then potentially negotiate future reprintings of a work. If there was no demand for a reprint, the publisher was off the hook for the cost of making the plates. This model greatly benefited authors who were in demand by a reading public and could consistently sell books. Through this method, Longfellow was able to realize an unheard-of 18¼ percent royalty, working with his publisher to offer collections of his works at different price points to many sectors of the marketplace, all of which happened to be printed from the same sets of plates.¹⁴ Melville, on the other hand, after the initial success of *Typee* and *Omoo*, found himself losing income as sales from his successive books steadily

¹⁴ Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing in the United States*, 211. William Charvat. "Longfellow's Income From His Writings, 1840-1852." *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* (38) 1, April 1944: 9-21. William Charvat. *Literary Publishing in America 1790-1850*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993: 43.

declined, to the point where he could no longer afford to purchase back his plates from Harper & Brothers, even at the half-cost sum they were offered to him. And when the time came when he was able to purchase them back, Melville found that his plates no longer commanded any real value in the marketplace (see Chapter 4).

THOREAU AND THE BUSINESS OF STEREOTYPING AND ELECTROTYPING

Massachusetts in the early nineteenth century was the center of the nation's pencil-making industry. Because of graphite deposits (then known as plumbago, or black lead) in the eastern part of the state and in northern New England, many experimental shops and several small factories arose in and around Concord to manufacture pencils. The most famous was John Thoreau & Co., founded by Henry David Thoreau's maternal uncle Charles Dunbar. Dunbar discovered a deposit of plumbago in Bristol, New Hampshire in 1821 and set up a pencil business in Concord. Henry's father, John Thoreau, came in as a partner, eventually taking over the entire business. Combining the graphite they mined with clay produced a mixture that was superior for writing than any produced in the United States at that time, making Thoreau-manufactured pencils competitive with the best European imports, which dominated the American market.¹⁵

Henry knew the business well and assisted in its operations while his father was alive, inventing a machine for turning graphite into powder for the stereotyping and electrotyping trade, which had edged out pencil-making by mid-century as the focus of

¹⁵ Henry Petroski. *The Pencil: A History of Design and Circumstance*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000: 108-109.

the business.¹⁶ Thoreau's machine produced a finer powdered graphite than any that was being manufactured in the United States. The company was successful enough to provide a steady stream of income for the Thoreau family, allowing John Thoreau to purchase a large house on Main Street in Concord. Orders for their ground graphite first began arriving in the mid-1840s from a Boston and New York firm, Smith & McDougal, who realized that powdered graphite was the ideal substance with which to coat a plate for the newly-developed electrotyping process. Electrotyping, first done in the United States in 1841, used a wax mold impressed onto set type or images. The wax mold was then coated with powdered graphite for conductivity and immersed in a copper solution bath for several hours with an electric current passing through the tank. Copper atoms adhered to the surface over time, creating a precise impression on a thin plate on top of the wax form. The resulting plate was then backfilled with type metal and used for printing. Electrotyping's initial advantage was its ability to better reproduce fine-line wood or steel engravings, but by the 1850s, it was also beginning to overtake stereotyping for book production work as well.¹⁷ Graphite also became a key ingredient in the stereotype process, as it was used to finely coat the plaster molds before the molten alloy was poured in, allowing the mold to easily break free from the plate without sticking or clogging up too many small openings. By mid-century, the Boston Type and Stereotype Factory, the largest in New England, needed considerable supplies of graphite to operate,

¹⁶ Robert D. Hudspeth, ed. *The Correspondence of Henry D. Thoreau*. Volume I: 1834-1848. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013: 148, fn.4.

¹⁷ Philip Gaskell. *A New Introduction to Bibliography*. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 1995: 206. Jacob Abbott. *The Harper Establishment; Or, How the Story Books Are Made* (1855). Hamden, CT: Shoe String Press, 1956: 67-68, 96-102.

putting pressure on the pencil industry for a greater share of its raw materials. The Thoreaus were perfectly-placed to take advantage of this change in the printing trades.

Smith & McDougal wished to keep their improved process secret and asked the Thoreaus to likewise remain silent about supplying orders of powdered graphite. In the early 1850s, the Thoreaus were receiving ten dollars a pound for their ground graphite and were selling six hundred pounds a year. Once Smith & McDougal's secret leaked out to the printing trades and more electrotypers entered the market, prices dropped, but the resulting rise in additional orders for Thoreau-manufactured graphite kept the family business nearly as profitable.

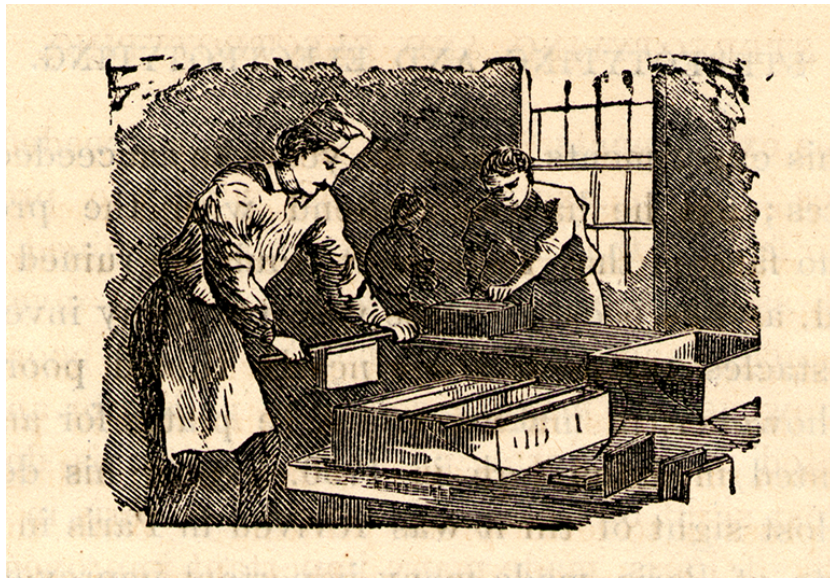


Figure 5.1 Adding plates to an electrotyping vat.¹⁸

By 1854, the Thoreaus were doing business with multiple electrotyping firms in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and the Midwest, and their pencil-making business had almost

¹⁸ "Stereotyping and Electrotyping." In *The Great Industries of the United States, Being an Historical Summary of the Origin, Growth, and Perfection of the Chief Industrial Arts of This Country*. Hartford: J. B. Burr & Hyde; Chicago: J. B. Burr, Hyde & Co., 1874: 175. Image courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, Furman University Library.

completely turned into a graphite business for supplying the electrotyping trade. “John Thoreau, Pencil Maker” began advertising “Plumbago, Prepared Expressly For Electrotyping” in major city newspapers.¹⁹ The graphite they used originally came from a mine in New Hampshire. Later, additional sources in Canada were found, and as late as 1860, Thoreau had shipped 1,068 pounds from a graphite mine near Sturbridge, Massachusetts to the workshop in Concord. The business continued to be run by the family after John Thoreau’s death in 1859, and by his mother for a short time following Henry’s death in 1862, before finally being sold. The work, which was carried on in the “el” of the family’s home, produced such a fine cloud of graphite powder everywhere that visitors to the Thoreaus were said to have observed it resting on the family piano’s keys after the lid was opened up.²⁰

Thoreau was no stranger to stereotyping and electrotyping, as indeed their growth and expansion during his lifetime was the primary source of his family’s prosperity. Thoreau made several visits to Mount Monadnock in southern New Hampshire between 1844 and 1860, writing about it in his journal. In addition to taking the opportunity to explore the area and climb the mountain, the primary reason for these trips was to inspect a graphite mine on one side of the mountain. Thoreau needed to visit it as a potential source of raw materials for the family business at a time, late in the 1840s, when Smith & McDougal’s orders for ground graphite were just beginning to get underway.²¹

¹⁹ Laura Dassow Walls. *Henry David Thoreau: A Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017: 37-40. Walter Harding. *The Days of Henry Thoreau*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966: 261-262. Petroski, *The Pencil*, 122.

²⁰ Edward Waldo Emerson. *Henry Thoreau As Remembered by a Young Friend*. Concord, MA: Thoreau Foundation, 1968: 37.

²¹ Peter J. Thompson. “Thoreau on Monadnock: Long on Botany and Philosophy, Short on Geology.” *Geological Society of America Abstracts With Programs* 38 (7) 2006: 38.

While it seems he never commented on the mechanical process directly, the use of stereotyping as a metaphor appears on several occasions in Thoreau's writings. In a letter to Emerson on 17 October 1843 from Staten Island, where he was spending some months looking for literary work in New York and tutoring Emerson's nephew, Thoreau used the term "stereotype" as a metaphor for an unimaginative copy when critiquing a poem Emerson had sent him: "I like the poetry, especially the Autumn verses....But I have a good deal of fault to find with your ode to Beauty. The tune is altogether unworthy of the thoughts...."Remediless thirst" are some of those stereotyped lines."²² In those lines, where Emerson lapsed into cliché (which, incidentally, is the French term for a stereotype) Thoreau used the term stereotype—with its multiple meanings—as a way to describe something copied over and over again without originality.

A few years later, in the "Sunday" chapter of his first book, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, Thoreau argues for the superiority of poetry over all other forms of writing, stating that, when written by its greatest artists such as Homer, poetry captures the essence of nature itself:

His more memorable passages are as naturally bright as gleams of sunshine in misty weather. Nature furnishes him not only with words, but with stereotyped lines and sentences from her mint.²³

Here the stereotype is instead a perfect copy and a positive thing. Stereotyping becomes a metaphor for the poet's ability to perfectly capture the essence of a thing—nature—and reproduce it on the page through the medium of language. The true poet is a medium for mechanically reproducing the complexity of nature to an exacting standard. But because

²² Hudspeth, *Correspondence of Thoreau*, 245-246. Thoreau is referring to Emerson's "Ode to Beauty" which was printed in the October 1843 issue of *The Dial*.

²³ Henry David Thoreau. *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849). Carl F. Hovde, ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980: 92.

one cannot reproduce nature or copy it through the form of language, this form of stereotyping still has its limitations, however ideal. Language ultimately only takes one so far in its ability to exactly reproduce the essence of a corporeal object or physical force. Later in the book, in the “Wednesday” chapter, in a passage on friendship, Thoreau wrote:

A true Friendship is as wise as it is tender. The parties to it yield implicitly to the guidance of their love, and know no other law nor kindness. It is not extravagant and insane, but what it says is something established henceforth, and will bear to be stereotyped. It is a truer truth, it is better and fairer news, and no time will ever shame it, or prove it false.²⁴

In this passage, knowledge gained from the goodness of a true friendship is something that should be copied or replicated directly with others. Thoreau may also be hinting that in the act of replicating such a true friendship, if it is “true” it will hold up to the pressures of being copied many times over, just as a stereotype copy of a text or image can itself be stereotyped multiple times or printed from without any alteration or degradation to either the original or the copy. The exactness of the stereotyped copy to its original here is so precise as to allow Thoreau to use the term “stereotype” for greater effect instead of simply stating “a copy.”

Finally, in a passage about the nature of poetry in the “Friday” chapter, Thoreau writes:

The true poem is not that which the public read. There is always a poem not printed on paper, coincident with the production of this, stereotyped in the poet’s life. *It is what he has become through his work.* Not how is the idea expressed in stone, or on canvas or paper, is the question, but how far it has obtained form and expression in the life of the artist.²⁵

²⁴ Thoreau, *Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, 274.

²⁵ Thoreau, *Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, 343.

Here, Thoreau makes a direct reference to Emerson's essay "The Poet," published five years before, in which Emerson states that in artistic sensibility there is poetry, and vice versa. The poet's life itself becomes a poem, both of who he is and of how he chooses to see, live, and write. Simple copying is apparently not enough here to complete Thoreau's metaphor—the poem instead is "stereotyped in the poet's life." Thoreau's metaphoric usage of the term stereotyping equates it to a sort of divine coping, occurring at the level of nature or spirit, and elevating the term beyond that of human ability. These instances suggest that Thoreau placed a particularly great value on the ability of a corporeal stereotype to work exactly as it was intended to do and also somehow transcend copying to be a way of bridging body and spirit. Technology, even for someone like Thoreau, can be a liberating force, something quite different from our conventional understanding of Thoreau's relationship to technology. There is nothing particularly denigrating here in his choice of words and metaphors, only a sense of refined elevation and reverence for the stereotyper's—and the stereotype's—metaphorical art of reproduction.

Thoreau used stereotyping as a metaphor again several years later in *Walden*. In its first chapter, "Economy," in the same paragraph containing the famous sentence, "The mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation" appears this sentence: "A stereotyped but unconscious despair is concealed even under what are called the games and amusements of mankind."²⁶ Thoreau's interest in *Walden* in waking up his readership to better understand how to live in the world here allows him to use stereotyping in a different manner than in *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*. Stereotyping here has become a mechanical form of copying, a link to modern technology and modernity in a

²⁶ Henry David Thoreau. *Walden* (1854). J. Lyndon Shanley, ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989: 8.

way that is not like the elevated transcendence of his earlier writings. Here, Thoreau links copying to concealment, arguing against the value of technological progress implied by using the term stereotype. In the “Sounds” chapter he uses the metaphor differently, this time for exact copying in nature when referring to the sound of an owl. This is more akin to the way stereotyping is used in *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*:

I was also serenaded by a hooting owl. Near at hand you could fancy it the most melancholy sound in Nature, as if she meant by this to stereotype and make permanent in her choir the dying moans of a human being.²⁷

Stereotyping is a mark of natural permanence in the world of fleeting sounds, but it is also a mostly unsettling image that makes this possible. Thoreau’s final use of the term in *Walden* appears in his final chapter, “Spring,” when he discusses the “tonic of wildness” and the human need for experiencing nature, in all its forms, including death and unpleasantness: “Poison is not poisonous after all, nor are any wounds fatal. Compassion is a very untenable ground. It must be expeditious. Its pleadings will not bear to be stereotyped.”²⁸ Here, stereotyping is a form of copying that one is ill-advised to undertake, and without any utility or merit. Compassion’s unsuitability to be reproduced makes it not a proper candidate for reproduction, and attempting to reproduce compassion when looking at nature only distances oneself from the natural balance of life and death. This form of stereotyping is an unnatural intrusion, and one that shows the beginnings of its limitations as a mechanical process.²⁹

²⁷ Thoreau, *Walden*, 125.

²⁸ Thoreau, *Walden*, 318.

²⁹ Stereotyping appears twice in Thoreau’s journal, later in life, in 1857. On January 13, 1857, he wrote: “Almost all, perhaps all of our life is, speaking comparatively, a stereotyped despair, i.e. we never at any time realize the full grandeur of our destiny.” Later that year, on October 2, he wrote: “The chief incidents in Minott’s life must be more distinct and interesting to him now than immediately after they occurred, for he has

Thoreau was not alone in experimentally-using this new technology as a metaphor. Usage of the term “stereotype” as a synonym or metaphor for an identical copy appears in print beginning at least in the 1820s. In 1828, for example, *The Harvard Register* published a “Letter From A Country Schoolmaster” in which the author describes his arrival in a seaside town: “It was on a cold, drizzly morning,—a continuation of a series of days, so gloomy and wet as to beget the idea that this kind of weather had been stereotyped...”³⁰ For the schoolmaster, each day in his new town is an exact copy of the previous one, and so the gloomy weather seemed to have been stereotyped and printed from the same celestial plate. With its subject of gloomy weather reproduced ad nauseum, the stereotype here is something coldly mechanical, and one can see the early hints at a negative connotation to the term. A perfect, bright sunny day is never described as being stereotyped. In Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Dred: A Tale of the Dismal Swamp* (1856), she writes of her character Father Bonnie: “Very little of the stereotype print of his profession had he.”³¹ In Melville’s *Pierre* (1852), a novel in part about the New York publishing world of the 1840s and 1850s, the title character receives a portentous letter about his past. Trying to convince himself that it is only an invitation to a dinner party or the like, he tells himself to open it: “quick, fool, and write the stereotyped reply: Mr. Pierre Glendinning will be very happy to accept Miss so and so’s

recalled and related them so often they are stereotyped in his mind.” Henry David Thoreau. *The Journal of Henry David Thoreau*. Bradford Torrey and Francis H. Allen, eds. Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1984. Volume IX: 217; Volume X: 56.

³⁰ “Letter From a Country Schoolmaster.” *The Harvard Register*. Cambridge MA, 1838: 133.

³¹ Harriet Beecher Stowe. *Dred: A Tale of the Dismal Swamp* (1856). Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1884: 440.

polite invitation....”³² In some literary circles, stereotyping by the mid-1850s had already devolved into a metaphor for a sort of unthinking copying, the sort of rote reproduction without a human element present that loses all traces of originality. Arguments for the benefits of textual accuracy that one found in the language of stereotyping early in the century had by now been replaced by a colder, impersonal image of rote mechanical reproduction.

OWNING ONE’S OWN WORDS:
SOJOURNER TRUTH, WILLIAM WELLS BROWN,
AND AFRICAN-AMERICAN “STEREOTYPES”

In addition to a growing metaphorical use in literature and everyday speech, the material consequences of publishers utilizing stereotyping and the proliferation of stereotype plates had far more immediate relevance to the lives of the small group of African-American authors and publishers who were able to negotiate pathways into print. The writings of the abolitionist movement are rooted in an evangelical culture of morality that was often in tension with the need to exist within a market economy of goods and services. One resulting strategy adopted by reformers was to encourage a form of “evangelical consumerism,” different from the charitable practices of the American Bible Society described in chapter 3, but instead rooted within a competitive publishing marketplace that nevertheless used its moral center as an incentive to sales and wider distribution of reformist thought.³³

³² Herman Melville. *Pierre, Or the Ambiguities* (1852). Evanston: Northwestern University Press: 1999: 62.

³³ Augusta Rohrbach. “Profits of Protest: The Market Strategies of Sojourner Truth and Louisa May Alcott,” in McCarthy, Timothy Patrick and John Stauffer, eds. *Prophets of*

Sojourner Truth, the former slave from New York state and a beacon of the abolitionist movement, remained illiterate her entire life. Yet her life's story, in the form of a narrative first published in 1850, appeared in several editions during her lifetime, and its success helped to sustain her financially for over twenty-five years. Truth's success as an author and her financial well-being were predicated on her engagement with the creation and selective use of sets of stereotype plates to her works, as much or more so than the printed cartes de visite—photographic cards bearing her likeness—that she also sold to supporters at her speaking engagements. The first edition of Truth's *Narrative* was published in 1850 on credit by an abolitionist printer in Boston, James M. Yerrinton, who also printed William Lloyd Garrison's *The Liberator*. Truth, a free woman since 1826, had little savings and worried about taking on debt as well as the risk of having a set of plates made to a book that she was unsure would sell well. After its appearance, Truth worked steadily on the abolitionist lecture circuit, eager to pay off the printer's bill and secure some savings of her own. By 1853, the first edition was sold out. As a way of financing a new edition, her friend James Boyle purchased the plates from her, holding them in trust until she would require them again. The plates, while still effectively belonging to Truth, remained in the possession of Boyle, a "spiritualist-physician" Truth had known in New York City as early as 1838, and with their Northampton Association colleagues. Boyle had helped her negotiate her first arrangement with Yerrinton in 1850

Protest: Reconsidering the History of American Abolitionism. New York: New Press, 2006: 235-255 (cited 235).

to first see the work into print, as so was a trusted friend.³⁴ The second edition was printed in 1853, and Truth continued to sell copies to audiences at her lectures.

Augusta Rohrbach discusses the seeming paradox of Truth's illiteracy, despite being a published author, by arguing that her presence in the book is both a form of language and a visual presence in the form of the woodcut illustration of the author at the front. Truth's amanuensis Olive Gilbert stated in the narrative that the impression made by Truth on her auditors in creating the book,

can never be transmitted to paper...till by some Daguerrian act we are able to transfer the look, the gesture, the tones of voice, in connection with the quaint, yet fit expressions used, and the spirit-stirring animation that, at such a time, pervades all she says.³⁵

For Gilbert, Truth's words came through in the printed books, but her true likeness, unlike Thoreau's vision of a great poet stereotyping nature on the page, could not be captured. There was no technology available for Gilbert, not even a Daguerreotype or a stereotype plate, for a true likeness of an animated personality like Truth to be adequately conveyed onto the page for all to see, examine, and understand more deeply than through her words alone.

Where her first two editions were without introductions, the 1855 third edition of the *Narrative* included a notable one by Harriet Beecher Stowe, and the book continued to sell, affording Truth a modest income for many years. In 1875, when she was very ill, friends rallied to her in Battle Creek, Michigan, where she had then settled. Boyle gave her back the plates to her *Narrative* which he held in trust, and an 1876 edition was

³⁴ Margaret Washington. *Sojourner Truth's America*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009: 258. Nell Irvin Painter. *Sojourner Truth, A Life, A Symbol*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996: 110-111.

³⁵ Rohrbach, "Profits of Protest," 247; Sojourner Truth. *Narrative of Sojourner Truth, A Northern Slave*. Boston: Printed for the Author, 1850: 45.

brought out, arranged and subsidized by Frances Titus, another friend. This edition was expanded to include one volume of her new work, the “Book of Life.”³⁶

Throughout this twenty-five year period, the stereotype plates to the *Narrative* remained Truth’s major piece of literary property, a material text that allowed her autonomy and income, despite their being managed or held in trust for her by her white friends and supporters. The plates, and the capital represented in them, were first financed on credit, then lent, then used as a gift at different times in her life by their shared owners. Their later possession by James Boyle, in name if not in spirit, may be seen as a practical arrangement struck by Truth in order to see her life story printed and distributed, an investment towards a steady future income where an initial infusion of capital was needed to begin. It can also be seen as a form of charitable literary paternalism on the part of white sympathizers to whom Truth had longstanding connections. The plates to her *Narrative* represented the potential for profit and independence, and though she owned them outright for only a short period of her life, they remained with people who actively worked on her behalf, negotiating with printers and serving as author’s agents, the plates never having been sold to third parties or effectively leaving her circle of influence.

As Rohrbach notes,

Unlike Douglass, however, Truth chose to shoulder all the costs of publication herself so that she could control not just the copyright of her book, but also the physical plates from which the book was made. Owning the stereotype plates meant controlling how many editions were printed....By owning the plates, authors could license the right to print the book as well as negotiate for the degree of profit from the sales.³⁷

Truth sold her book for only 25¢ a copy and preferred to have copies bound simply in paper wrappers, quite a different approach from the standard 75¢ to \$1.25 range for cloth-

³⁶ Washington, *Sojourner Truth’s America*, 258.

³⁷ Rohrbach, “Profits of Protest,” 243.

bound slave narratives sold by the antislavery societies. Truth believed that a cheap book would circulate more widely than a more expensive one, and as her book was only one source of her income, the lectures and signed cartes de visite would all mutually reinforce each other and her cause.³⁸

William Wells Brown, the first African-American novelist (*Clotel*, 1853), had an extensive career as an author, and like Sojourner Truth successfully negotiated the world of publishing and stereotype plates to his advantage. Born about 1815 in Lexington, Kentucky, Brown received some early training in the printing trades. He was hired out by his owner to work for Elijah P. Lovejoy, the editor of the *St. Louis Times*, at the paper's main office. Lovejoy employed several free and enslaved African-Americans at the paper. In subsequent years, Lovejoy became an outspoken abolitionist editor and was killed by a mob who attacked him in Alton, Illinois in 1843, the only abolitionist to die in the North. When Brown worked for Lovejoy at the *Times* in the 1830s, he ran errands, assisted the owners, and also occasionally operated the press. He wrote in his 1847 *Narrative* about being sent to other newspaper offices to retrieve forms of set type and how he was able to learn the basics of literacy while working in and around the print shop. Brown wrote,

Mr. Lovejoy was a very good man, and decidedly the best master that I ever had. I am chiefly indebted to him and to my employment in the printing office for what little learning I obtained while in slavery.³⁹

Ezra Greenspan, in his recent biography of Brown, concludes that Brown was exaggerating the level of literacy he was able to obtain while working in the newspaper

³⁸ Painter, *Sojourner Truth, A Life, A Symbol*, 110-111.

³⁹ William Wells Brown. *Narrative of William W. Brown, A Fugitive Slave*. Boston: Anti-Slavery Society, 1847: 27.

office and also suggests that Lovejoy's interests at that point in his life, the early 1830s, were far less progressive than his stand on racial equality later on.⁴⁰ Lovejoy's death at the hands of proslavery forces more than a decade after these incidents occurred made him into a national martyr for the abolitionist cause and therefore worthy of memorialization by the time Brown's *Narrative* appeared in 1847.

Brown escaped to freedom in 1834 and lived in the northeast, working for abolitionist and reform causes, and became a prolific author. When Brown visited England and Ireland in 1849 to lecture as part of the antislavery movement and as a chosen delegate to the International Peace Congress in Paris, he carried a set of the American stereotype plates to his *Narrative* along with him on board, following Frederick Douglass's similar example in 1845. Likewise, he followed Douglass's precedent of traveling immediately upon arrival in Liverpool to Dublin with his plates to have an Irish edition quickly struck off for sale before his lecture tour of England and Ireland. Most historians place a considerable amount of importance on the liberating effect that literacy and authorship had on slaves and ex-slaves as a way of gaining agency and greater subjectivity. Jonathan Senchyne writes that for William Wells Brown's situation, his

freedom in Europe from the reaches of kidnappers and from the management of white abolitionists alike depended upon his relation to the material conditions of print production as much as it did his own literacy.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Ezra Greenspan. *William Wells Brown: An African American Life*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014: 70-71.

⁴¹ Greenspan, *William Wells Brown*, 192. Jonathan Senchyne. "Bottles of Ink and Reams of Paper: *Clotel*, Racialization, and the Material Culture of Print." In Lara Langer Cohen and Jordan Alexander Stein, eds. *Early African American Print Culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012: 140-160.

Brown was intimately connected to the set of plates to his *Narrative* as both a foundation of selfhood and as a means of independence and liberation. This mobility is evidenced in the 1849 first English edition of Brown's *Narrative*, which Senchyne notes as having London as the place of publication and Charles Gilpin as publisher, but on the verso one finds a disclaimer stating the work was printed in Dublin, from the American stereotype plates, by another printer.⁴² Brown's successful negotiation of the world of transatlantic and transnational publishing afforded him a degree of agency and independence unlike many of his fellow abolitionists. In addition to his stereotype plates, Brown also packed a slave collar and shackles with him to use as examples in his lectures, items which aroused considerable interest at the customs office when he arrived in Liverpool.⁴³

While the printing and publishing work of the abolitionist movement has been well-documented and studied, finding traces of an African-American presence directly involved in the printing trades or publishing industry in the colonial, early national, or antebellum periods is particularly difficult.⁴⁴ Isaiah Thomas in his *History of Printing in America* notes several former slaves who were owned by eighteenth century printers in Boston, New Hampshire, and Philadelphia.⁴⁵ Sales advertisements for slaves in colonial

⁴² Senchyne, "Bottles of Ink," 142.

⁴³ Like other reform groups such as the American Sunday School Union and American Bible Society, the American Anti-Slavery Society received gifts of stereotype plates from sister organizations to support their publishing activities. The Boston publisher John P. Jewett and the Fourth Congregational Church in Boston also gave sets of plates to abolitionist tracts to the society. See: American Anti-Slavery Society. *Annual Reports of the American Anti-Slavery Society, by the Executive Committee, for the Years Ending May 1, 1857 and May 1, 1858*. New York: The Society, 1859: 189-191.

⁴⁴ Leon Jackson. "The Talking Book and the Talking Book Historian: African American Cultures of Print—The State of the Discipline." *Book History* 13 (2010): 251-309.

⁴⁵ Isaiah Thomas. *The History of Printing in America*. Second edition. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1874: 130, 133.

newspapers in Northern colonies noted several individuals who had been trained as printers.⁴⁶

All of the African-American authored books printed in the antebellum period came from white-owned printing houses. The few African-American owned printing and publishing houses that existed primarily produced periodicals, beginning in 1827 with John Russwurm's *Freedom's Journal*. Russwurm's print shop, like all of his contemporaries, also did jobbing work. One short-lived concern, the John W. Leonard Company in New York City, was founded by a free black man, James R. W. Leonard, and for two years published books exclusively on freemasonry, from 1855 through 1856. Leonard reprinted several core works from the Universal Masonic Library (the standard publications of Anglo-American freemasonry) and some additional works on masonry before selling his business to a white publisher in 1856. After this, Leonard worked as a job printer under his own name until at least 1870.⁴⁷ Acting as a true publisher, Leonard's books, bearing a New York imprint, were printed and bound in Louisville, Kentucky by at least two different printers and were first stereotyped in New York City by the established stereotyping and electrotyping firm of Holman & Gray.⁴⁸ Leonard clearly took advantage of more favorable printing costs and distribution networks in Louisville in choosing to ship his plates from New York to Kentucky, likely through fellow Masonic connections who may have also assisted him to get work in New York. The New York

⁴⁶ Peggy Jo Zemens Richmond. *Afro-American Printers and Book Publishers, 1650-1865*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1971: 25.

⁴⁷ Richmond, *Afro-American Printers*, 78.

⁴⁸ Donald Franklin Joyce. *Gatekeepers of Black Culture: Black-Owned Book Publishing in the United States, 1817-1981*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983: 13. Richmond, *Afro-American Printers*. And see, for example, Jonathan Ashe. *The Masonic Manual; Or, Lectures on Freemasonry*. New York: J. W. Leonard & Co., American Masonic Agency, 1855.

jobbing trade, while possibly charging more for composition and printing, would not necessarily have been averse to printing from plates owned by a black-owned and operated publisher.

Leonard's older brother William was listed as a printer in the New York census of 1850, though no imprints were ever issued under his own name. Richmond believes he worked for Martin Delany on the *Anti-Slavery Standard* in New York and its successor, the *National Standard*, and may have printed works for the American Anti-Slavery Society without his name on the imprint.⁴⁹

A second firm, that of Thomas Hamilton, Sr., published both the *Anglo-African Magazine* and a number of books on black Africana authored by African-Americans during the Civil War years. It was continued after Hamilton's death by his brother Robert and son William G. Hamilton. They published Robert Campbell's *A Pilgrimage To My Motherland: An Account of a Journey Among the Egbas and Yorubas of Central Africa, in 1859-60*.⁵⁰ This book was printed and stereotyped in New York for Hamilton by the white printer and stereotyper John A. Gray. During the Civil War, Hamilton also published two editions of William Wells Brown's *The Black Man, His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements* (1863), which was first stereotyped at the Boston Stereotype Foundry and printed in New York.⁵¹ Black-owned publishers needed white-owned stereotype firms to make their plates and white jobbing printers to print their

⁴⁹ Richmond, *Afro-American Printers*, 90-93.

⁵⁰ Robert Campbell. *A Pilgrimage To My Motherland: An Account of a Journey Among the Egbas and Yorubas of Central Africa, in 1859-60*. New York: Thomas Hamilton, 1861.

⁵¹ William Wells Brown. *The Black Man, His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements*. New York: Thomas Hamilton; Boston: R. F. Wallcut, 1863. William Wells Brown. *The Black Man, His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements*. Second edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Thomas Hamilton, 1863.

books. Despite these gains, and even after the war, African-Americans employed in the printing trades alongside whites, even in the urban North, were never large in number during the nineteenth century. W. E. B. DuBois's study of black employment in Philadelphia in 1896 notes only three job printing shops, ten adults who identified as printers, three male, and two female typesetters out of the hundreds of individuals employed in the printing trades in that city.⁵²

From its beginnings in the United States in the 1810s, stereotyping represented a technological advance that allowed for the wider and potentially more accurate reproduction of material texts. As its use became more common, stereotyping became a mechanism for copying, a form of copying that somehow left part of its original essence of hand craft, individual attention, and artisan spirit behind. It instead became a metaphor for industrialization, together with all the assumptions about dehumanization that accompanied rapid technological change. As authors, publishers, and workers in the printing trades attempted to understand and manage their work in a rapidly-changing environment, so too did the public at large identify a convenient metaphor in stereotyping for describing the vague uneasiness in many aspects of everyday life manifested through these changes. In short, stereotyping itself became stereotyped, and we still must work through its consequences in our own uses of the term.

⁵² W. E. B. DuBois. *The Philadelphia Negro*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1899: 142. See also I. Garland Penn. *The Afro-American Press and Its Editors*. Springfield, Mass.: Willey and Co., 1891.

CODA:
ON COPYING TEXTS AND IMAGES
IN NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICA

Philadelphia publisher Abraham Hart retired from the trade in 1854. His firm, Carey & Hart, run with Mathew Carey's younger son Edward, had published general interest titles in Philadelphia since the 1820s. Following Carey's death in 1845, Hart ran the firm alone. In closing up the business, he placed his entire backlist of stock and his substantial collection of 103 sets of stereotype plates (some with copyrights attached) up for auction at the 1854 Philadelphia trade sale. It was the largest group of plates ever to come onto the market at one time. Advertisements placed by the auctioneers in trade journals such as *Norton's Literary Gazette* and in daily newspapers up and down the east coast called readers' attention to the upcoming sale, noting "This is the first Sale of Stereotype Plates, of like magnitude, that has taken place in the United States." Hart's lots of plates filled 30 pages of trade sale catalog copy in addition to the three pages of stereotype plates offered by other consignees. The event was sufficiently newsworthy to receive national press coverage.¹

¹ *Norton's Literary Gazette and Publisher's Circular* I (II), 15 January 1854: 64; M. Thomas & Sons, Auctioneers, Advertisement. *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), 30 January 1854; *North American and United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), 9 February, 1854.

Auction lots at the trade sales traditionally came up by publisher in alphabetical order, so when the book offerings of Harper & Brothers were to be sold, James Harper, the co-founder and ex-mayor of New York, addressed the assembled audience. He noted,

It is a painful reflection to me, and I believe it is the same with all of us, that this is the last time we shall be honored by having, as a contributor to these semi-annual sales, our long-trying friend ABRAHAM HART. I most confidently affirm that, from twenty-five years dealing with him, I have never known one more honorable and generous, or more prompt, courteous, and intelligent, than my friend—than our friend—Hart....The name of Hart is more than respected—it is dear to us—because it is an index to its owner’s character; because he is earnest, manly, straightforward, not only as a publisher and bookseller in giving character and reputation to the trade, but as a man and a friend; because he is active and hearty in the benevolent associations whose object is to relieve the widow and orphan—the poor and the afflicted.²

Harper’s remarks were met with great applause. Hart was also allowed to address the assembled crowd of bidders as his lots came up. His remarks to Moses Thomas, the Philadelphia auctioneer, were printed in the Philadelphia-based *Godey’s Lady’s Book*:

You, sir, were the *first person to introduce me into the book business*, having given me a letter of credit to purchase, at the Boston trade sale, held in 1827, when I was but sixteen years of age, an amount of five thousand dollars, on my own judgment, a confidence which I have remembered to this day; and, two years afterwards, you were instrumental in arranging the partnership for me with the late Edward L. Carey; and now, after twenty-five years of successful business, *you* are about to conduct me out of the trade, by disposing of my stereotype plates; and I must here acknowledge my gratitude to you for those acts of kindness and confidence extended towards a mere boy.³

As his final lots of stock came up at the New York Sale one month later, Hart thanked his many colleagues and fellow publishers, marveling at the growth and expansion of the United States printing trades and publishing industry during his lifetime. The speed and volume with which publishers brought their works to a national marketplace in 1854 was

² “The Trade Sales.” *Norton’s Literary Gazette* I (VII), 1 April 1854: 159.

³ *Godey’s Lady’s Book* XLVIII, May 1854: 468.

nothing short of miraculous to those who began their careers early in the century like him. He noted that, like himself, the Harper brothers started out in business on their own when the book business was small and grew their respective firms into large operations that grew with the trade. Hart was grateful for James Harper's kind words preceding his lots at the sale and offered praise to Harper & Brothers. He noted that Harper & Brothers brought 200,000 items to the trade sale in Philadelphia just three months after the major fire that completely destroyed their printing headquarters, another sign of the speed and facility the American publishing industry had now attained.⁴

Hart's remarks spoke to questions of continuity and stability in the American printing trades, something its practitioners always took especial pride in. In the occasionally florid ways in which they described their work at trade sale banquets and other august occasions, their labors were nearly a calling. Printers and publishers in nineteenth-century America believed themselves to have a mission to promote a literate, Christian society and advance American democratic values while engaged in their trade.⁵ For Hart, the confidence shown him at an early age was remembered and recalled as he exited the trade, a reminder to all assembled of the gentlemanly nature of their profession, one which still operated on trust and reputation. The capital he amassed in the form of plates would be redistributed to a new, likely younger group of publishers as he took his exit, prolonging his own influence by proxy as his plates received a second life in the

⁴ "The Trade Sales." *Norton's Literary Gazette* I (VII), 1 April 1854: 159.

⁵ See especially the description of the American Book Trade Association conference at the American Centennial Exhibition of 1876 in Scott E. Casper. "Introduction." In Scott E. Casper, Jeffrey D. Groves, Stephen W. Nissenbaum, and Michael Winship. *A History of the Book in America*. Volume 3: The Industrial Book, 1840-1880. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007: 1-11.

reprint marketplace. Hart entered into the printing trades as a young man at the end of the handpress era in the early 1820s and left it as a completely changed world thirty years later. In 1854, the United States publishing industry was vast and varied. Large publishers competed for a truly national share of the market. Rail networks ensured national distribution methods for printed matter, regardless of weather and season. National periodicals spread news quickly, and smaller, regional publishers acquired older stock and secondhand stereotype plates, publishing and selling cheap books to meet ever-increasing consumer demands for printed matter at many different price points.

Hart's lots at the sales went well. His 103 lots of plates sold back to the trade in Philadelphia and brought \$55,960. His printed stock at the New York sale one month later brought between \$20,000 and \$25,000, which was reported by telegraph to newspapers across the country.⁶ While Hart's plates were mostly steady-sellers such as his set of the Waverly novels, which brought \$4,000 at the sale, newer plates to works in popular demand, with their copyrights still attached, could potentially command even more significant sums. John P. Jewett & Co. of Boston, despite having a huge success publishing *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852, was hit hard by the panic of 1857 and forced to mortgage their stereotype plates to it for \$10,000.⁷

⁶ "Great Sale of Stereotype Plates." *South Carolinian* (Columbia), 14 March 1854. See also Melissa J. Homestead. "From Periodical to Book in Her Early Career: E. D. E. N. Southworth's Letters to Abraham Hart." *Legacy: A Journal of American Women Writers* 29 (1), 2012: 115-147. "The Trade Sales." *Norton's Literary Gazette* I (VII), 1 April 1854: 159-160.

⁷ Claire Parfait. *A Publishing History of Uncle Tom's Cabin, 1852-2002*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007: 110. See also Michael Winship. "John Punchard Jewett, Publisher of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: A Biographical Note with a Preliminary Checklist of His Imprints" in *Roger Eliot Stoddard at Sixty-Five: A Celebration*. New York: Thornwillow Press, 2000: 85-114.

Other changes in the publishing industry had occurred by midcentury. In the same month as Abraham Hart's final sale of his stock, the Philadelphia-based *Godey's Lady's Book*, the largest-circulation general interest magazine for women in the United States, announced that "Back numbers of the 'Lady's Book' can be supplied from January, as the work is now stereotyped," offering readers who presumably read a borrowed copy of the journal the opportunity to order their own copies without having initially subscribed.⁸ Other periodicals had been stereotyped for several decades. *The Family Magazine* was printed and regionally distributed simultaneously in New York, Boston, Baltimore, and Cincinnati in 1838 thanks to the multiple copies of stereotype plates made of each issue and sent to each city for printing and distribution.⁹ *Parley's Magazine*, a children's biweekly, was printed simultaneously in Boston and Maine using multiple sets of stereotype plates beginning in 1834.

The London-based *Penny Magazine*, a product of the Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge, was stereotyping issues of its magazine in the mid-1830s and sending sets of plates to the United States for simultaneous printing in this country. It was the first modern journal with a truly global outlook and distribution network. This practice raised concerns from United States publishers who were opposing an 1838 bill to create an international copyright law. In a petition to Congress, a group of American publishers argued that if such a law were enacted, it would further encourage additional foreign

⁸ *Godey's Lady's Book* XLVIII, May 1854: 467. *Godey's* also wrote about manufacturing technologies for its readership, including several articles on how its own magazine issues were produced. See C. T. Hinckley. "A Day's Ramble Through the Mechanical Department of the 'Lady's Book.'" *Godey's Lady's Book* XLV, October 1852: 306-314 for an excellent illustrated look at the magazine's production facilities, and "Our Printers." *Godey's Lady's Book* XLI, December 1850: 384-385.

⁹ "Invention of Stereotyping." *The Family Magazine* V, 1838: 384-386.

manufacture and importation of stereotype plates to the detriment of domestic production. The *Penny Magazine* was targeted by name, stating that under such an agreement they would be able to send copyrighted plates to America to be printed from and could then re-export them back to Britain when done, depriving American customs of duties, as the import would effectively cancel out the export.¹⁰ Resistance to an international copyright agreement was such by American publishers that it took until 1891 for a workable agreement to be made.

Some earlier attempts to stereotype periodicals were not as successful. William Cobbett, after returning to England following his decade as the fiery journalist and publisher Peter Porcupine in Philadelphia in the 1790s, founded *Cobbett's Register*, an account and transcription of Parliamentary speeches. Cobbett sold the paper to Thomas Curson Hansard in 1812, and it continues to be known under the Hansard name today. Beginning in 1817, Cobbett began to have back issues of the *Register* reset anew and stereotyped, anticipating a steady demand for back issues, one which never fully materialized.¹¹ Other initiatives, such as the *Godey's* announcement, were more successful, as a need for some back issues could now be met through new impressions from plates instead of from stored printed stock. But the rush to stereotype periodicals also created their own storage problems. *Littell's Living Age* stereotyped each issue of their journal beginning in the 1840s. By 1854, a newspaper reported that the storehouse for the *Littell's* stereotype plates housed upwards of 1,000 boxes and weighed nearly 30 tons. The proprietors then announced that “they cannot afford to retain so much capital

¹⁰ “Memorial of the New York Typographical Society Against the Passage of an International Copyright Law.” *Senate Documents* 25-296 (2d Sess. 1838).

¹¹ *Hereford Journal*, 9 April 1817.

locked up in them even as mere metal; and they accordingly propose to melt them down.” Not, of course, before printing a quantity sufficient to supply a newly-announced, limited offer for back issues.¹²

Abraham Hart left the trade in middle age, choosing instead to spend his time on new coal investments in Pennsylvania and working on reform issues in Philadelphia. The trade sales continued until the turn of the century, with several sets of Hart’s own plates still being sold and printed from, many decades later.

¹² “Littell’s Living Age, No. 532, Has Been Received by the Agents, Merriam & Merrill.” *New Hampshire Statesman* (Concord), 5 August 1854.

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APPENDIX A FIRST USES OF STEREOTYPE PLATES IN THE UNITED STATES, BY DATE AND LOCATION

Date Location, Publisher (Foundry)

- 1812 Philadelphia, Bible Society at Philadelphia (Rutt)
- 1813 New York, J. Watts & Co. (Watts)
- 1814 New York, Collins and Co. (Collins)
- 1815 Boston, C. Bingham (Collins)
 Hartford, Sheldon & Goodwin (Starr)
 New London, Samuel Green (Starr)
 New York, D. and G. Bruce (Bruce)
 New York, Isaac Riley (Collins)
 New York, Whiting & Watson (Bruce)
 Newburyport, E. Little & Co. (n.p., possibly Little)
 Philadelphia, Matthew Carey (Watts, purchased from Collins)
 Poughkeepsie, Stockholm & Brownejohn (Collins)
- 1816 Albany, E. F. Backus (Collins)
 Baltimore, Shaeffer & Maund (Collins)
 Brattleboro, John Holbrook (Collins)
 Hartford, Sheldon & Goodrich (Collins)
 New York, Auxiliary New-York Bible and Common Prayer Book Society (Bruce)
 New York, W. Mercein (Bruce)
 New York, New York Bible Society (White)
 New York, Smith & Forman (n.p., possibly Little)
 New York, T. & J. Swords (Bruce)
 Philadelphia, Bennett and Walton (Collins)
 Philadelphia, Benjamin Warner (Collins)
 Philadelphia, Bible Society at Philadelphia (Rutt)
 Philadelphia, Thomas De Silver (Bruce)
- 1817 Albany, Websters and Skinners (Collins)
 Boston, Lincoln and Edmands (Collins)
 Bridgeport, L. Lockwood (Collins)

- Canandaigua, H. Underhill (Simmons)
 Exeter, E. Little & Co. (n.p.)
 Georgetown SC, (Collins)
 Hartford, S. G. Goodrich (Collins)
 Haverhill MA, Burrill and Tileston (Collins)
 Keene, John Prentiss (n.p., possibly Prentiss)
 New York, American Bible Society (Bruce)
 New York, American Bible Society (White)
 New York, Robert and William A. Bartow (White)
 New York, E. M. Blunt and Samuel A. Burtis (n.p.)
 New York, Henry Durell (n.p.)
 New York, W. B. Gilley (n.p., possibly White)
 New York, W. B. Gilley (Collins)
 New York, G. Long (n.p., possibly Long)
 New York, M. Swaim & J. Howe (White and Starr)
- 1818 Baltimore, Joseph Robinson (n.p., possibly Bruce or White)
 Boston, West and Richardson (Collins)
 Boston, West, Richardson & Lord (Collins)
 Boston, R. P. & C. Williams (Collins)
 Hartford, Silas Andrus (Starr II)
 Hartford, J. & W. Russell (n.p., possibly Starr)
 Haverhill, Nathan Burrill (Collins)
 Hudson NY, William E. Norman (n.p., possibly Collins)
 Keene, S. A. Morrison & Co. (Collins)
 New York, Robert and William A. Bartow (Starr II)
 New York, Collins and Hannay (Collins)
 New York, J. Soule and T. Mason (White)
 New York, Daniel D. Smith (White and Starr)
 New York, Charles Starr (Starr II)
 Norwich, Russell Hubbard (n.p., possibly Starr)
 Philadelphia, W. Fry (Bruce)
 Pittsburgh, Cramer and Spear (Collins)
 Pittsburgh, R. Patterson & Lambdin (Collins)
 Poughkeepsie, Paraclete Potter (Collins)
 Rochester, E. Peck, and Company (Starr II)
 Troy, Parker and Bliss (n/a.)
 Washington, D. Rapine (Collins)
- 1819 Exeter, Charles Norris (n.p., possibly White)
 Exeter, John I. Williams (Collins)
 Lexington KY, Kentucky Auxiliary Bible Society (Bruce)
 New York, Henry I. Megary (Bruce)

Key to stereotype foundries:

Bruce	D. and G. Bruce, New York
Collins	Collins and Co., New York
Rutt	T. Rutt, Shacklewell, London
Simmons	H. Simmons & Co.
Starr	J. F. and C. Starr, Hartford
Starr II	Charles Starr, New York, 1818-
Watts	John Watts, New York
White	E. and J. White, New York
White and Starr	E. & J. White and Charles Starr, New York, 1817-

APPENDIX B
A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF STEREOTYPED BOOKS
PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES, 1813-1819

1813

M'Leod, Alexander.

The Larger Catechism, Agreed Upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, With the Assistance of Commissioners from the Church of Scotland, and Received by Several Presbyterian Churches in America; With the Proofs From the Scripture, Revised by Alexander M'Leod, D.D. The First Book Ever Stereotyped in America.

New-York: Stereotyped and Printed by J. Watts & Co. for Whiting & Watson, Theological and Classical Booksellers. June 1813. 30520.¹

Washington, George.

Washington's Farewell Address to the People of the United States.

New-York: From the Foundry of J. Watts & Co., 1813.

First Stereotype Edition. 30456.

1814

Murray, Lindley.

English Grammar, Adapted to the Different Classes of Learners. With an Appendix, Containing Rules and Observations For Assisting the More Advanced Students to Write With Perspicuity and Accuracy.

New-York: Printed and Sold by Collins and Co., 1814.

Collins's Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by John Watts, From the Twenty-Third English Edition. 32192.

¹ All numbers refer to entries in Shaw, Ralph R. and Richard H. Shoemaker. *American Bibliography, A Preliminary Checklist for 1801 to 1829*. New York: Scarecrow Press, 1958-1966 and attendant databases. The occasional Hills numbers refer to Hills, Margaret. *The English Bible in America: A Bibliography of Editions of the Bible & the New Testament Published in America, 1777-1957*. New York: American Bible Society and the New York Public Library, 1961. All spelling and capitalization is as printed.

1815

Bingham, Caleb.

The American Preceptor; Being a Selection of Lessons for Reading and Speaking. Designed for the Use of Schools. Stereotype Edition.

Stereotyped by B. & J. Collins, for C. Bingham, Boston, 1815. 34121.

Brown, John, 1722-1787.

A Brief Concordance to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments: By Which All, or Most, of the Principal Texts of Scripture May Be Easily Found Out.

New-York: Printed by Collins and Co., 1815.

Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins. 34230.

Daboll, Nathan.

Daboll's Schoolmaster's Assistant: Improved and Enlarged. Being a Plain Practical System of Arithmetic: Adapted to the United States.

New-London: Printed and Published by Samuel Green, 1815.

Stereotype Edition. J. F. & C. Starr, Stereotype Founders, Hartford. 34507, 34508.

The Death and Burial of Cock Robin; With the Story of the Farmer's Daughters. To Which is Added, the Tragical Death of an Apple-Pye.

Hartford: Printed by Sheldon & Goodwin. Stereotyped by J.F. and C. Starr, 1815. 34381.

The Hermit of the Forest. And the Wandering Infants. A Rural Fragment.

Hartford: Printed by Sheldon & Goodwin, 1815.

Stereotyped by J. F. & C. Starr. 34893.

The Hebrew Bible; From the Edition of Everardo Van Der Hooght.

New-York: Published by Whiting & Watson, 1815.

Composed and Printed by Fanshaw and Clayton. Stereotyped by D. & G. Bruce. 34058.

The History of Goody Two-Shoes. To Which is Added, The Rhyming Alphabet, Or, Tom Thumb's Delight.

Hartford: Printed by Sheldon & Goodwin. Stereotyped by J. F. & C. Starr, 1815. 34800.

The History of Little Charles, and His Friend Frank Wilful.

Hartford: Printed by Sheldon & Goodwin. Stereotyped by J. F. & C. Starr [1815]. 34912.

The History of Little King Pippin. With an Account of the Melancholy Death of Four Naughty Boys Who Were Devoured by Wild Beasts; and the Wonderful Delivery of Master Harry Harmless, By a Little White Horse.

Hartford: Printed by Sheldon & Goodwin. Stereotyped by J. F. and C. Starr, 1815. 34913.

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues and With the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

New-York: Stereotyped and Printed by D. & G. Bruce, 1815. 34068.

The Mountain Lute, Or, The Happy Discovery. Ornaments with Cuts.
Hartford: Printed by Sheldon & Goodwin, 1815.
Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by J. F. & C. Starr. 35336.

Murray, Lindley.
English Grammar, Adapted to the Different Classes of Learners. With an Appendix, Containing Rules and Observations For Assisting the More Advanced Students to Write With Perspicuity and Accuracy.
New-York: Printed and Sold by Collins and Co., 1815.
Collins's Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by John Watts, From the Twenty-Third English Edition. 35355.

Murray, Lindley.
English Grammar, Adapted to the Different Classes of Learners. With an Appendix, Containing Rules and Observations For Assisting the More Advanced Students to Write With Perspicuity and Accuracy.
Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by Matthew Carey, 1815.
Carey's Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by John Watts, From the Twenty-Third English Edition. 35356.

Murray, Lindley.
English Grammar, Adapted to the Different Classes of Learners. With an Appendix, Containing Rules and Observations For Assisting the More Advanced Students to Write With Perspicuity and Accuracy.
Poughkeepsie: Printed and Sold by Stockholm & Brownejohn, 1815.
Collins's Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by John Watts, From the Twenty-Third English Edition. 35357.

The New Testament.
First American Stereotyped Edition. Boston: Published by West and Richardson, 1815.
Hills 287.

The New Testament.
New York: Stereotyped and Printed by D. & G. Bruce, 1815. Hills 288.

Picket, A.
The Juvenile Spelling-Book: Being an Easy Introduction to the English Language. Containing Easy and Familiar Lessons in Spelling, With Appropriate Reading Lessons, Calculated to Advance the Learner by Easy Gradations, and to Teach the Orthography of Johnson, and the Pronunciation of Walker.
Newburyport: Published by E. Little & Co., and Sold Wholesale and Retail at their Respective Bookstores in Newburyport and Portland, 1815. C. Norris & Co., Printers.
First Stereotype Edition. 35683.

Walker, John.

A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary, and Expositor of the English Language....Abridged and Adapted to the Use of the Citizens of the United States.

New-York: Printed and Published by Isaac Riley, 1815.

Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. & J. Collins. 36467.

1816

The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Together With the Psalter, or Psalms of David.

New-York, 1816. [413 p.]

Stereotyped by D. & G. Bruce, New-York. From the Stereotype press of the Auxiliary New-York Bible and Common Prayer Book Society. 38719, 38721.

The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Together With the Psalter, or Psalms of David.

New-York: Printed and Sold by T. & J. Swords, 1816.

Stereotyped by D. & G. Bruce, New-York. 38722.

The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Together With the Psalter, or Psalms of David.

New-York, 1816. [396 p.]

Stereotyped by D. & G. Bruce, New-York. From the Stereotype Press of the Auxiliary New-York Bible and Common Prayer Book Society. 38720.

Brown, John.

A Brief Concordance to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments: By Which All, or Most, of the Principal Texts of Scripture May Be Easily Found Out.

Brattleborough, (Vt.): Printed and Sold by John Holbrook, 1816.

Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins. 37099.

Daboll, Nathan.

Daboll's Schoolmaster's Assistant: Improved and Enlarged. Being a Plain, Practical System of Arithmetic: Adapted to the United States.

New-London: Printed and Published by Samuel Green, 1816.

Stereotype Edition. C. Starr, Stereotype Founder...N.Y. 37379.

The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and With the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

Albany: Printed and Published by E. F. Backus, 1816.

Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. & J. Collins, New-York. 36942.

The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments: Together With the Apocrypha. Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and With the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised: With Marginal Notes and References.

Brattleborough, (VT): J. Holbrook, 1816.

J. Holbrook's Stereotype Copy. First Edition. 36945.

The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and With the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised: With Canne's Marginal Notes and References.

New-York: Printed and sold by Collins & Co., 1816.

Collins's stereotype edition. Stereotyped by B. & J. Collins, New-York. 36952.

The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and With the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

New-York: Stereotyped by E. & J. White, for the "New York Bible Society" and "The Auxiliary New York Bible Society." 1816. 36951.

The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and With the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

New-York: Printed and Published by W. Mercein, 1816.

36953. [D. & G. Bruce, New-York]

Murray, Lindley.

Abridgment of Murray's English Grammar. With an Appendix, Containing Exercises in Orthography, in Parsing, in Syntax, and in Punctuation. Designed for the Younger Classes of Learners.

New-York: Printed and Sold by Collins & Co., 1816.

Stereotype edition. Stereotyped by B. & J. Collins, from the last English edition. 38317.

Murray, Lindley.

Abridgment of Murray's English Grammar. With an Appendix, Containing Exercises in Orthography, in Parsing, in Syntax, and in Punctuation. Designed for the Younger Classes of Learners.

Philadelphia: Published by Benjamin Warner, 1816.

Stereotype edition. Stereotyped by B. & J. Collins, from the last English edition. 38318.

Murray, Lindley.

English Grammar, Adapted to the Different Classes of Learners. With an Appendix, Containing Rules and Observations, for Assisting the More Advanced Students to Write With Perspicuity and Accuracy.

New-York: Printed and Sold by Collins and Co., 1816.

Collins's Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. & J. Collins, from the Last English Edition. 38326.

Murray, Lindley.

The English Reader, Or, A Selection of Pieces in Prose and Poetry, Selected from the Best Writers, Designed to Assist Young Persons to Read with Propriety and Effect; To Improve Their Language and Sentiments; And to Inculcate Them of the Most Important Principles of Piety and Virtue.

Philadelphia: Published by Bennett and Walton, 1816.

Bennett & Walton's Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. & J. Collins, from the last English Edition. 38335.

Murray, Lindley.

Introduction to the English Reader: Or, A Selection of Pieces, in Prose and Poetry; Calculated to Improve the Younger Classes of Learners in Reading....

Baltimore: Shaeffer & Maund, 1816.

Stereotype edition. Stereotyped by B. & J. Collins. 38328, 38329.

Murray, Lindley.

Introduction to the English Reader: Or, A Selection of Pieces, in Prose and Poetry; Calculated to Improve the Younger Classes of Learners in Reading....

New-York: Printed and Sold by Collins and Co., 1816.

Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. & J. Collins. 38341.

Murray, Lindley.

Introduction to the English Reader: Or, A Selection of Pieces, in Prose and Poetry; Calculated to Improve the Younger Classes of Learners in Reading....

Philadelphia: Printed and Published by John Bioren, 1816.

Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. & J. Collins.

The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Translated Out of the Original Greek; and With the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

Hartford: Printed and Sold by Sheldon & Goodrich, 1816.

Stereotype edition. Stereotyped by B. & J. Collins. 36964.

The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: Translated Out of the Original Greek; and With the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

Philadelphia: Stereotyped for the Bible Society at Philadelphia, 1816.

Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by T. Rutt, Shacklewell, London. 36968.

The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: Translated Out of the Original Greek; and With the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

Philadelphia: Printed by Thomas Desilver, 1816.

Stereotyped by D. & G. Bruce, New-York. 36969.

Picket, A.

The Juvenile Spelling Book: Being an Introduction to the English Language. Containing Easy and Familiar Lessons in Spelling, With Appropriate Reading Lessons, Calculated to Advance the Learner by Easy Gradations, and to Teach the Orthography of Johnson, and the Pronunciation of Walker.

New-York: Printed and Published by Smith & Forman, 1816.
Sixth Stereotype Edition. 38632.

1817

Adams, Daniel.

The Scholar's Arithmetic; or, Federal Accountant: Containing, I. Common Arithmetic, the Rules and Illustrations. II. Examples and Answers, with Blank Spaces ... III. To Each Rule a Supplement ... IV. Federal Money, with Rules For All the Various Operations in it ... V. Interest Cast in Federal Money ... VI. Demonstrations by Engravings of the Reason and Nature of Various Steps in the Extraction of the Square and Cube Roots ... VII. Forms of Notes, Deeds, Bonds and Other Instruments of Writing. The Whole in a Form and Method Altogether New, For the Ease of the Master and the Greater Progress of the Scholar.

Keene, N.H.: Printed by John Prentiss, 1817.

Stereotype Edition, Revised and Corrected, With Additions. 39918.

The Aeolian Harp, Or Singster's Cabinet; Being a Selection of the Most Popular Songs and Recitations; Patriotic, Sentimental, Humorous, &c. In Two Volumes.

New-York: Printed and Published by M. Swaim and J. Howe, 1817.

Stereotyped by E. & J. White and Charles Starr. 39945.

Bingham, Caleb.

The Columbian Orator: Containing a Variety of Original and Selected Pieces; Together With the Rules; Calculated to Improve Youth and Others in Ornamental and Useful Art of Eloquence.

Boston: Printed for Caleb Bingham and Co., 1817.

Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 40251.

The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Together with the Psalter, or, Psalms of David.

New-York: Published by W. B. Gilley, 1817.

Stereotype edition. 41895, 40475.

The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Together with the Psalter, or, Psalms of David.

New-York: Published by Robert and William A. Bartow, D. Fanshaw, Print., 1817.

Stereotyped by E. and J. White. 41894.

Bowditch, Nathaniel.

The New American Practical Navigator: Being an Epitome of Navigation; Containing all the Tables Necessary to be Used With the Nautical Almanac, in Determining the Latitude and the Longitude by Lunar Observations....

New-York: Published by E. M. Blunt and Samuel A. Burtis, J. Seymour, Printer, Aug. 1817.

First Stereotype (Fourth) Edition. 40296.

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

Albany: Printed by Websters and Skinners, 1817.

Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 40194.

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

Boston: Printed for Lincoln and Edmands, W. Greenough, Printer, 1817.

Sold also by Collins & Co., Newyork. 40195.

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised. With Marginal Notes and References. Together with the Apocrypha. To Which Are Added, an Index: An Alphabetical Table of all the Names in the Old and New Testaments, With Their Significations; And, What Has Never Before Been Added, An Account of the Lives and Martyrdom of the Apostles and Evangelists.

Brattleborough (Vt.): J. Holbrook's Stereotype Copy. Ninth Edition, 1817. 40198.

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

New-York: Stereotyped for the American Bible Society by D. & G. Bruce, Daniel Fanshaw, Printer, 1817. 40200.

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

New-York: Published by the American Bible Society, 1817.

Stereotyped by E. & J. White. 40202.

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised; With Canne's Marginal Notes and References.

New-York: Printed and Sold by Collins and Co., 1817.

Collins's Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 40204.

Johnson, Samuel.

Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language, in Miniature to Which Are Added, an Alphabetical Account of the Heathen Deities, and a Copious Chronological Table of Remarkable Events, Discoveries and Inventions in Europe, by the Rev. Joseph Hamilton, M.A. With a Continuation of the Said Table to the Present Period. Also, a New and Complete American Chronology, Containing an Accurate Account of Events from the Discovery of the New World to This Time.

New-York: Printed and Published by G. Long, 1817.

Long's Stereotype Edition. First New-York, from the Last English Edition. 41163.

Johnson, Samuel.

Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language, in Miniature to Which Are Added, an Alphabetical Account of the Heathen Deities, and a Copious Chronological Table of Remarkable Events, Discoveries and Inventions in Europe, by the Rev. Joseph Hamilton, M.A. With a Continuation of the Said Table to the Present Period. Also, a New and Complete American Chronology, Containing an Accurate Account of Events from the Discovery of the New World to This Time.

Philadelphia: Printed and Published by M. Carey, 1817.

Carey's Stereotype Edition. 41164.

Lafoy, J. B. M. D.

The Complete Coiffeur; Or an Essay on the Art of Adorning Natural, and of Creating Artificial, Beauty.

New-York: Stereotyped for the Proprietors, and Sold by All the Principal Booksellers, 1817. 41222.

Murray, Lindley.

English Grammar, Adapted to the Different Classes of Learners. With an Appendix, Containing Rules and Observations For Assisting the More Advanced Students to Write With Perspicuity and Accuracy.

New-York: Printed and Sold by Collins and Co., 1817.

Collins's Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, from the last English edition. 41513.

Murray, Lindley.

An English Grammar: Comprehending the Principles and Rules of the Language, Illustrated by Appropriate Exercises, and a Key to the Exercises. In Two Volumes.

New-York: Printed and Sold by Collins & Co., 1817. 41514.

Murray, Lindley.

An English Spelling-Book; With Reading Lessons Adapted to the Capacities of Children: In Three Parts. Calculated to Advance the Learners by Natural and Easy Gradations and to Teach Orthography and Pronunciation Together.

New-York: Printed and Sold by Collins and Co., 1817.

Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, from the last English edition. 41528.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Translated Out of the Original Greek; and With the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

Bridgeport, Con.: Printed and Sold by L. Lockwood, 1817.

Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 40213.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Translated Out of the Original Greek; and With the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

New-York: Stereotyped by E. and J. White for "The American Bible Society," 1817.

Stereotype Edition. 40218.

Picket, Albert.

The Juvenile Spelling-Book: Being an Easy Introduction to the English Language. Containing Easy and Familiar Lessons in Spelling, With Appropriate Reading Lessons, Calculated to Advance the Learner by Easy Gradations, and to Teach the Orthography of Johnson, and the Pronunciation of Walker.

Exeter: Published by E. Little & Co., 1817.

Stereotype Edition. 41816.

Pike, Albert.

The Teachers Assistant, Or a System of Practical Arithmetic; Wherein the Several Rules of that Useful Science, Are Illustrated by a Variety of Examples, a Large Proportion of Which Are in Federal Money. The Whole Designed to Abridge the Labour of Teachers, and to Facilitate the Instruction of Youth. Third Edition, With Improvements.

Philadelphia: Published by Benjamin Warner, and Sold Also at his Store, Richmond, Va., 1817.

Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 41825.

Pope, Alexander.

An Essay on Man, to Which is Added, The Universal Prayer.

Canandaigua: Published by H. Underhill, 1817.

Stereotyped by H. Simmons & Co. 41853.

Shakespeare, William.

The Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare, in Ten Volumes. With the Corrections and Illustrations of Dr. Johnson, G. Steevens, and Others, Revised by Isaac Reed, Esq.

New York: Published by Henry Durell, 1817-1818.

Stereotype Edition. 42099.

Waldo, John.

Child's Pronouncing Spelling Book; in Which, After Introductory Lessons, the Most Useful Words in Our Language, Are Collected and Arranged....

Georgetown (S.C.): Sold by the Principal Booksellers, 1817.

Stereotyped by B. & J. Collins, New-York. 42804.

Watts, Isaac.

The Psalms of David, Imitated in the Language of the New Testament, and Applied to the Christian State and Worship.

Haverhill, (Mass.): Published by Burrill and Tileston, 1817.

Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins. 40227.

The Whole Book of Psalms, in Metre; With Hymns, Suited to the Feasts and Fasts of the Church, and Other Occasions of Public Worship.

New-York: Published by W. B. Gilley, 1817.

Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 40230.

The Whole Book of Psalms, in Metre; With Hymns, Suited to the Feasts and Fasts of the Church, and Other Occasions of Public Worship.

New-York: Published by W. B. Gilley, 1817.

Stereotype Edition. 40231.

The Whole Book of Psalms, in Metre; With Hymns, Suited to the Feasts and Fasts of the Church, and Other Occasions of Public Worship.

New-York: Published by Robert & William A. Bartow, D. Fanshaw, Print., 1817.

Stereotyped by E. & J. White. 40232.

1818

Adams, Daniel.

The Scholar's Arithmetic; Or, Federal Accountant....

Keene, N. H.: Printed by John Prentiss, 1818.

Stereotype Edition, Revised and Corrected, with Additions. 43009.

Alphabetical Tatoo; Or, Assembly of the Great and Little Letters, at the Critic's Palace, in Hartford.

Hartford: Published by J. & W. Russell, 1818.

Stereotype edition. 51461.

The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America Together With the Psalter, or Psalms of David.

Baltimore: Printed and Published by Joseph Robinson, 1818.

Stereotype edition. 45427.

The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America: Together With the Psalter, or Psalms of David.

New-York: From the Stereotype Press of the New-York Bible and Common Prayer Book Society, 1818.

Stereotyped by D. & G. Bruce, New-York. 45428.

The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Together With the Psalter, or Psalms of David.

New-York: Published by Robert and William A. Bartow, J. Gray & Co., Printers, 1818.

Stereotyped by E. and J. White. 45429.

The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America Together With the Psalter, or Psalms of David.

New-York: Printed and Sold by T. & J. Swords, 1818.
Stereotyped by D & G. Bruce, New-York. 45430.

The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America: Together With the Psalter, or Psalms of David.
Philadelphia: Published by S. Potter & Co. For the Common-Prayer Book Society of Pennsylvania, W. Fry, Printer, 1818.
Stereotyped by D. & G. Bruce, New-York. 45431.

Daboll, Nathan.
Daboll's Schoolmaster's Assistant: Improved and Enlarged. Being a Plain, Practical System of Arithmetic: Adapted to the United States.
New-London: Printed and Published by Samuel Green, 1818.
Stereotype Edition. J. F. & C. Starr, Stereotype Founders...Hartford. 43795.

Daboll, Nathan.
Daboll's Schoolmaster's Assistant: Improved and Enlarged. Being a Plain, Practical System of Arithmetic: Adapted to the United States.
Norwich: Published by Russell Hubbard, Hubbard & Marvin, Printers, 1818.
Stereotype Edition. 43796.

Daggett, Herman.
The American Reader, Consisting of Familiar, Instructive, and Entertaining Stories. Selected for the Use of Schools.
Poughkeepsie: Published for Paraclete Potter, P. & S. Potter, Printers, 1818.
Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 43798.

English, Clara.
The History of the Children in the Wood, An Affecting Tale.
New-York: Stereotyped and Published by Charles Starr, 1818. 43936.

Hawley, Daniel.
The Federal Calculator; Or American Schoolmaster's Assistant and Young Man's Companion. Being a Compendium of Federal Arithmetic, Both Practical and Theoretical.
Troy: Printed by Parker and Bliss, 1818.
Stereotype Edition. 44285.

The History of Tommy Two-Shoes, Own Brother to Mrs. Margery Two-Shoes.
Hartford: Printed by Sheldon & Goodwin, 1818.
Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by J. F. & C. Starr. 43932.

The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.
Brattleborough (Vt.): J. Holbrook's Stereotype Copy, 1818. 43297.

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, Translated from the Original Tongues; And with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.
Boston: Published by R. P. & C. Williams, 1818.
Stereotyped by B. & J. Collins. 43294.

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, Translated from the Original Tongues; And with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.
Boston: Published by R. P. & C. Williams, 1818.
Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins. 43295.

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated from the Original Tongues; And with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.
Boston: Published by West and Richardson, J. H. A. Frost, Printer, 1818.
Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 43296.

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.
Hartford: Published by S. G. Goodrich, 1818.
Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins. 43299.

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated from the Original Tongues; And with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.
New-York: Published by the American Bible Society, 1818.
Stereotyped by E. and J. White. 43303.

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.
New-York: Stereotyped by E. and J. White for "The American Bible Society." 1818.
Stereotype Edition. 43304, 40218.

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues; And with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.
Pittsburg: Printed and Sold by Cramer and Spear, 1818.
Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 43309.

Johnson, Samuel.

Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language in Miniature. To Which are Added, an Alphabetical Account of the Heathen Dieties, and a Copious Chronological Table of Remarkable Events, Discoveries and Inventions in Europe.
New-York: Printed and Published by G. Long, 1818.
Long's Stereotype Edition. First New-York, from the Last English Edition. 44472.

Johnson, Samuel.

Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language in Miniature. To Which are Added, an Alphabetical Account of the Heathen Dieties, and a Copious Chronological Table of Remarkable Events, Discoveries and Inventions in Europe.

New-York: Printed and Published by G. Long, 1818.
Long's Stereotype Edition. First New-York, from the Last English Edition. 44473.

Morrell, Thomas.

An Abridgment of Ainsworth's Dictionary, English and Latin, Designed for the Use of Schools.

Boston: Published by West, Richardson & Lord, 1818.

Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 43034.

The Mountain Lute, Or, The Happy Discover. Ornamented with Cuts.

Hartford: Published by J. & W. Russell, 1818.

Stereotype Edition. 51467.

Murray, Lindley.

An Abridgement of Murray's English Grammar. With an Appendix, Containing Exercises in Orthography, in Parsing, in Syntax and in Punctuation. Designed for the Younger Classes of Learners.

Washington City: Printed and Published by D. Rapine, 1818.

From the Stereotype Edition of Collins and Co. 44934.

Murray, Lindley.

English Exercises, Adapted to Murray's English Grammar, Consisting of Exercises in Parsing; Instances of False Orthography; Violations of the Rules of Syntax; Defects in Punctuation; and Violations of the Rules Respecting Perspicuous and Accurate Writing. Designed for the Benefit of Private Learners, as Well as for the Use of Schools.

New-York: Printed and Sold by Collins and Co., 1818.

Stereotyped from the Last English Edition, by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 44937.

Murray, Lindley.

English Grammar, Adapted to the Different Classes of Learners. With an Appendix, Containing Rules and Observations for Assisting the More Advanced Students to Write With Perspicuity and Accuracy.

New-York: Printed and Sold by Collins and Co., 1818.

Collins's Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, From the Last English Edition. 44939.

Murray, Lindley.

The English Reader; Or, Pieces in Prose and Poetry, Selected from the Best Writers. Designed to Assist Young Persons to Read With Propriety and Effect; To Improve Their Language and Sentiments; And to Inculcate Some of the Most Important Principles of Piety and Virtue. With a Few Preliminary Observations on the Principles of Good Reading.

Haverhill (MS.): Printed and Published by N. Burrill, 1818.

New-English Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 44944.

Murray, Lindley.

The English Reader; Or, Pieces in Prose and Poetry, Selected from the Best Writers. Designed to Assist Young Persons to Read With Propriety and Effect; To Improve Their Language and Sentiments; And to Inculcate Some of the Most Important Principles of Piety and Virtue. With a Few Preliminary Observations on the Principles of Good Reading.

Hudson: Published by William E. Norman, 1818.

Stereotype edition. 44943.

Murray, Lindley.

The English Reader, Or, Pieces in Prose and Poetry Selected from the Best Writers, Designed to Assist Young Persons to Read With Propriety and Effect; To Improve Their Language and Sentiments; And to Inculcate Some of the Most Important Principles of Piety and Virtue. With a Few Preliminary Observations on the Principles of Good Reading.

Pittsburgh: Published by R. Patterson & Lambdin, Butler & Lambdin, Printers, 1818.

From the Stereotype Edition of Collins & Co. 44945.

Murray, Lindley.

Key to the Exercises Adapted to Murray's English Grammar, Calculated to Enable Private Learners to Become Their Own Instructors, In Grammar and Composition. New-York: Printed and Sold by Collins and Co., 1818.

Stereotyped from the Last English Edition, by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 44953.

Murray, Lindley.

Sequel to the English Reader, Or, Elegant Selections in Prose and Poetry. Designed to Improve the Highest Class of Learners in Reading, To Establish a Taste for Just and Accurate Composition; and to Promote the Interests of Piety and Virtue.

New-York: Printed and Sold by Collins and Co., 1818.

Stereotyped from the Fourth English Edition, by B. and J. Collins. 44954.

The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Translated Out of the Original Greek; and With the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

Keene, (N.H.): Printed and Published by S. A. Morrison & Co., 1818.

Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 43319.

The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: Translated Out of the Original Greek; And With the Former Translation Diligently Compared and Revised.

New-York: Stereotyped by E. and J. White for "The American Bible Society." 1818.

Stereotype Edition. 47229.

Robbins, Archibald.

A Journal, Comprising an Account of the Loss of the Brig Commerce, of Hartford (Con.) James Riley, Master, Upon the Western Coast of Africa, August 28th, 1815; Also of the Slavery and Sufferings of the Author and the Rest of the Crew, Upon the Desert of Zahara, In the Years 1815, 1816, 1817; With Accounts of the Manners, Customs, and

Habits of the Wandering Arabs; Also, A Brief Historical and Geographical View of the Continent of Africa.

Hartford: Published by Silas Andrus, 1818.

Third Edition. Stereotyped by C. Starr, New-York. 45551.

Robbins, Archibald.

A Journal, Comprising an Account of the Loss of the Brig Commerce, of Hartford (Con.) James Riley, Master, Upon the Western Coast of Africa, August 28th, 1815; Also of the Slavery and Sufferings of the Author and the Rest of the Crew, Upon the Desert of Zahara, In the Years 1815, 1816, 1817; With Accounts of the Manners, Customs, and Habits of the Wandering Arabs; Also, A Brief Historical and Geographical View of the Continent of Africa.

Hartford: Published by Silas Andrus, 1818.

Fourth Edition. Stereotyped by C. Starr, New-York. 45552.

Robbins, Archibald.

A Journal, Comprising an Account of the Loss of the Brig Commerce, of Hartford (Con.) James Riley, Master, Upon the Western Coast of Africa, August 28th, 1815; Also of the Slavery and Sufferings of the Author and the Rest of the Crew, Upon the Desert of Zahara, In the Years 1815, 1816, 1817; With Accounts of the Manners, Customs, and Habits of the Wandering Arabs; Also, A Brief Historical and Geographical View of the Continent of Africa.

Hartford: Published by Silas Andrus, 1818.

Fifth Edition. Stereotyped by C. Starr, New-York. 45553.

Robbins, Archibald.

A Journal, Comprising an Account of the Loss of the Brig Commerce, of Hartford (Con.) James Riley, Master, Upon the Western Coast of Africa, August 28th, 1815; Also of the Slavery and Sufferings of the Author and the Rest of the Crew, Upon the Desert of Zahara, In the Years 1815, 1816, 1817; With Accounts of the Manners, Customs, and Habits of the Wandering Arabs; Also, A Brief Historical and Geographical View of the Continent of Africa.

Hartford: Published by Silas Andrus, 1818.

Sixth Edition. Stereotyped by C. Starr, New-York. 45554.

Robbins, Archibald.

A Journal, Comprising an Account of the Loss of the Brig Commerce, of Hartford (Con.) James Riley, Master, Upon the Western Coast of Africa, August 28th, 1815; Also of the Slavery and Sufferings of the Author and the Rest of the Crew, Upon the Desert of Zahara, In the Years 1815, 1816, 1817; With Accounts of the Manners, Customs, and Habits of the Wandering Arabs; Also, A Brief Historical and Geographical View of the Continent of Africa.

Hartford: Published by Silas Andrus, 1818.

Seventh Edition. Stereotyped by C. Starr, New-York. 45555.

Robbins, Archibald.

A Journal, Comprising an Account of the Loss of the Brig Commerce, of Hartford (Con.) James Riley, Master, Upon the Western Coast of Africa, August 28th, 1815; Also of the Slavery and Sufferings of the Author and the Rest of the Crew, Upon the Desert of Zahara, In the Years 1815, 1816, 1817; With Accounts of the Manners, Customs, and Habits of the Wandering Arabs; Also, A Brief Historical and Geographical View of the Continent of Africa.

Hartford: Published by Silas Andrus, 1818.

Eighth Edition. Stereotyped by C. Starr, New-York. 45556.

Robbins, Archibald.

A Journal, Comprising an Account of the Loss of the Brig Commerce, of Hartford (Con.) James Riley, Master, Upon the Western Coast of Africa, August 28th, 1815; Also of the Slavery and Sufferings of the Author and the Rest of the Crew, Upon the Desert of Zahara, In the Years 1815, 1816, 1817; With Accounts of the Manners, Customs, and Habits of the Wandering Arabs; Also, A Brief Historical and Geographical View of the Continent of Africa.

Rochester, (N.Y.): Published by E. Peck, and Company, 1818.

Stereotyped by C. Starr, New-York. 45557.

A Short Scriptural Catechism, Intended for the Use of the Methodist Societies.

New-York: Published by J. Soule and T. Mason, 1818.

Seventeenth Edition. Stereotyped by E. and J. White. 44827.

Smith, Thomas.

An Abridgment of Walker's Critical Pronouncing Dictionary, and Expositor of the English Language.

New-York: Stereotyped by E. & J. White, and C. Starr, of New-York, for Daniel D. Smith, 1818.

First Stereotype edition. 46677.

Waldo, John.

The Dictionary Spelling Book: In Which, the Most Useful Words in Our Language are Collected, and Alphabetically Arranged, According to their Accent and Number of Syllables, With Walker's Pronunciation Carefully Marked, and the Making of Each Word Carefully Defined.

Georgetown, (S.C.): Sold by the Principal Booksellers, 1818.

Stereotyped by B. & J. Collins, New-York. 46670.

Walker, John.

An Abridgment of Walker's Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language....

New-York: Stereotyped by E. & J. White and C. Starr for D. D. Smith, 1818.

Walker, John.

A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary, and Expositor of the English Language....

New-York: Published by Collins and Hannay, 1818.

Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 46679.

Watts, Isaac.

The Psalms of David, Imitated in the Language of the New Testament, and Applied to the Christian State and Worship.

Haverhill, Mass.: Published by Nathan Burrill, 1818.

Stereotyped by B. & J. Collins, New-York. 43339.

Young, Edward.

Night Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality.

New-York: Published by R. and W. A. Bartow, 1818.

Stereotyped by C. Starr. 46901.

1819

The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America: Together with the Psalms of David.

New-York: Published by Henry I. Megary, 1819.

Stereotyped by D. & G. Bruce, New-York. 49199.

The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

Brattleborough, (Vt.): J. Holbrook's Stereotype Copy, 1819. 47211.

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments. Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Editions Diligently Compared and Revised.

Lexington, Ky.: Printed for the Kentucky Auxiliary Bible Society by William G. Hunt, 1819.

Stereotyped for the American Bible Society by D. & G. Bruce, New-York. 47212.

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues; And with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

New-York: Published by the American Bible Society, 1819.

Stereotyped by E. & J. White. 47213.

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated Out of the Original Tongues; And with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

New-York: Stereotyped for the American Bible Society by D. & G. Bruce, Printed by D. Fanshaw, 1819. 47214.

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Together with the Apocrypha: Translated Out of the Original Tongues; And with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

New-York: Printed and Sold by Collins and Co., 1819.

Stereotyped by B. & J. Collins, New-York. 47215.

Johnson, Samuel.

Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language in Miniature. To Which are Added, an Alphabetical Account of the Heathen Dieties, and a Copious Chronological Table of Remarkable Events, Discoveries and Inventions in Europe.

New-York: Printed and Published by G. Long, 1819.

Long's Stereotype Edition. First New-York, From the Last English Edition. 48382.

MacGowan, John.

Death: A Vision; Or, the Solemn Departure of Saints and Sinners, Represented Under the Similitude of a Dream.

New York: T. Kinnersley, 1819.

Murray, Lindley.

An Abridgment of Murray's English Grammar. With an Appendix, Containing Exercises in Orthography, in Parsing, in Syntax, and in Punctuation. Designed for the Younger Classes of Learners.

Philadelphia: Published by Benjamin Warner, 1819.

Stereotype Edition. Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, From the Last English Edition. 48781.

Murray, Lindley.

English Exercises, Adapted to Murray's English Grammar, Consisting of Exercises in Parsing; Instances of False Orthography; Violations of the Rules of Syntax; Defects in Punctuation; and Violations of the Rules Respecting Perspicuous and Accurate Writing. Designed for the Benefit of Private Learners. As Well as for the Use of Schools.

New-York: Printed and Sold by Collins and Co., 1819.

Stereotyped from the Last English Edition by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 48788.

Murray, Lindley.

Introduction to the English Reader; Or, a Selection of Pieces in Prose and Poetry; Calculated to Improve the Younger Classes of Learners in Reading, and to Imbue Their Minds With the Love of Virtue. To Which are Added, Rules and Observations for Assisting Children to Read with Propriety.

Philadelphia: Published by Benjamin Warner, 1819.

Stereotyped by B. & J. Collins. 48813.

Murray, Lindley.

Key to the Exercises Adapted to Murray's English Grammar. Calculated to Enable Private Learners to Become Their Own Instructors, In Grammar and Composition.

New-York: Printed and Sold by Collins and Co., 1819.

Stereotyped from the Last English Edition by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 48815.

The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: Translated Out of the Original Greek; and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.

Boston: Published by West, Richardson & Lord, John H. A. Frost, Printer, 1819.
First American Stereotype Edition. 47220.

The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: Translated Out of the Original Greek; and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.
Exeter, N. H.: Printed and Published by John I. Williams, 1819.
Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 47224.

Picket, Albert.

The Juvenile Spelling-Book: Being an Easy Introduction to the English Language. Containing Easy and Familiar Lessons in Spelling, with Appropriate Reading Lessons, Calculated to Advance the Learner by Easy Gradations, and to Teach the Orthography of Johnson, and the Pronunciation of Walker.
Exeter: Published by Charles Norris, J. J. Williams, Printer, 1819.
Stereotype Edition. 49109.

Picket, Albert.

The Juvenile Spelling-Book: Being an Easy Introduction to the English Language. Containing Easy and Familiar Lessons in Spelling, with Appropriate Reading Lessons, Calculated to Advance the Learner by Easy Gradations, and to Teach the Orthography of Johnson, and the Pronunciation of Walker.
New-York: Daniel D. Smith, 1819.
Improved and Stereotyped. Stereotyped by E. and J. White, New-York. Eleventh Stereotype Edition. 49111.

Robbins, Archibald.

A Journal, Comprising an Account of the Loss of the Brig Commerce, of Hartford (Con.) James Riley, Master, Upon the Western Coast of Africa, August 28th, 1815; Also of the Slavery and Sufferings of the Author and the Rest of the Crew, Upon the Desert of Zahara, In the Years 1815, 1816, 1817; With Accounts of the Manners, Customs, and Habits of the Wandering Arabs; Also, A Brief Historical and Geographical View of the Continent of Africa.
Tenth Edition.
Hartford: Published by Silas Andrus, Stereotyped by C. Starr, New-York, 1819. 49302.

Walker, John.

A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary, and Expositor of the English Language....
New-York: Published by Collins and Hannay, 1819.
Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins, New-York. 50015.

Watts, Isaac.

The Psalms of David, Imitated in the Language of the New Testament, and Applied to the Christian State and Worship.
Exeter, N. H.: Printed and Published by John I. Williams, 1819.
Stereotyped by B. and J. Collins. 51860.

APPENDIX C

“DIRECTIONS FOR REPAIRING PLATES,” CA. 1820¹

1. The punching block

Place the plate, solid, between the fixed & moveable plates of brass, placing the letter or word to be taken out even with the notch most suitable to its size. Put a piece of broad cloth on the face of the plate to prevent the letters being injured then put the moveable brass close upon it & punch out the letters inward.

2. Of repairing

When any letter in a plate is injured cut it off with a narrow chisel or graver & punch a hole in the plate (according to the directions above) then with a small file cut the hole so that the letter put in may line [up] with the rest: lay the plate on its face & break the letter off rather below the surface of the plate then observe if the letter is displaced. If it is, it may be put right by prising the metal at the back of the plate to it either at the top, bottom, or sides; when the letter is quite right, put at the back of the plate a small quantity of resin (black resin is the best) then solder it & chisel the solder off smooth. If a battered letter is at the edge of the plate the bevel may be filed away to admit the letter & soldered at the back, and paper reduced to a pulp being placed at the side that the solder may fill up the notch in the bevel, and also to prevent the solder from running to the face of the letter should a letter be battered at the corner of the plate in punching the hole, the corner breaks off, a corner of solder must be put on; in this case paper reduced to a pulp is to be fixed to the plate to preserve a hole sufficiently large for the letter or letters to be put in & the solder must form to the level at the head or bottom of the plate. When the solder has joined take away the pulp & file the hole to the size of the letter to be admitted. Break the letter off at the back & solder it through the solder at the side & end may be filed away to make the plate square. This will require very great care as in soldering the letter the corner is very liable to melt off & the whole will have to be done over again. If a plate is broken in half it may be joined together again with solder by cutting it on each side to admit a sufficient quantity of solder to strengthen it; it will frequently happen when a plate breaks in half that many letters are injured, in this case file the holes for the letters before you join the plates together (as you cannot with safety punch them thru thro' the solder) then put some pulp into the hole or holes to prevent the solder from running in. No more solder should at any time be used than is quite necessary, as there will be danger

¹ General Agent & Accountant Records, John Nitchie Papers, RG#19.02, Box 3. American Bible Society Archives.

of melting the plate. In case a plate is so battered that it cannot be repaired, a case of moveable type may be set up & worked with the plates.

3. Imposition & care of the plates

The blocks must be imposed in chases without letters locked up at the end or sides & the proper furniture made up by 2 or 3 bad plates stuck herewith, the plates to be imposed after the blocks are on the press. Never lift the blocks from the press with the plates upon them. After a form is worked off lay the plates in a dry place on thin backs. Brush them over directly with a little strongly; when the ink is sufficiently softened, wash them with clear water with a sponge, keeping the underlays as dry as possible, which with care will last for many Editions.

N.B. in case the dot of an i is broken off, or a full point, the tail of a y or f it may be replaced by a brass pin point, some of which are found herewith—a hole must be made for the point with the fine punch.

APPENDIX D
INVENTORY OF STEREOTYPE PLATES
BELONGING TO THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY, 1829

In February 1829, the Standing Committee of the Managers of the American Bible Society appointed a subcommittee “to report as to what new plates are necessary to be procured and the state of those now owned by the Society.”¹ This is the resulting inventory and condition report.

1 set in Spanish Octavo. 8000 copied taken and in good order.

1 set in French, duodecimo, gift of Br. For. & BS. 4000 Bibles and 2000 Testaments taken from them, in fair condition.

2 sets Octavo in English Long Primer which have not been used and only one set is corrected.

1 set of the same from which about 57000 copies have been printed these plates are still in good order and the text is considered the most correct of all the plates owned by the Society.

1 set of duodecimo, Brevier type about 87000 copies have been taken from this set since presented to the ABS by the NYBS and also 7000 extra Testaments and it remains in good order.

1 set of duodecimo in English minion located in Lexington Kentucky, no information is before the Committee as to the condition of these plates, but they apprehend they are considerably injured, tho’ only 4 Editions have been printed from the knowledge of the Committee comprizing less than 8000 copies.

1 set of the same from which 208,625 copies have been printed. It is worn out and worth no more than the value of the metal.

¹ Minutes of the Standing Committee of the Managers, RG #4.03, 13 February 1829, p. 87. American Bible Society Archives. The complete report, as transcribed above, can be found in the 4 March 1829 Minutes, pp. 87-89.

1 set of the same which is now in constant use. 82,250 copies have already been struck off and about 90,000 copies more may be taken from it—it is in good order.

1 set of duodecimo in nonpareil now in constant use. 79,000 copies have been taken from it already and it will yield about as many more after undergoing the usual repairs.

A set of pocket Bibles Nonpareil & Pearl type. 14000 copies have been printed from this set.

1 set Octavo plates Brevier type received from the Baltimore BS. It rec^d some injury in the transportation but is now being repaired, and an edition will soon be printed from it.

Testaments

A set of Octavo in Pica type from which 24,000 copies have been taken and the plates are but little injured.

A set of Duodecimo in Bourgeois type. 52000 copies have been printed and the plates have been much injured by very coarse hard paper.

A set of same Long Primer type 9000 copies have been taken off and the plates in good condition.

A set of same in Spanish Bourgeois type 17125 copies have been printed and the plates are in good order.

2 sets of English 18mo Brevier type. From these sets about 192,000 have been printed. One set of the plates is worn out and the other in good preservation.

3 sets of Testaments 18mo Nonpareil type. One of these after giving 152,250 copies has been thoroughly repaired. The other two sets have not been used.

APPENDIX E
PBSA REPRINT PERMISSION LETTER

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2 November 2017

Department of English
University of South Carolina
Greenville, SC

Ms. English,

This letter grants the University of South Carolina and the Department of English the right to republish "Print on Demand: Stereotyping and Electrotyping in the United States Printing Trades and Publishing Industry, 1813-1860" (first published in *PBSA* vol. 109, no. 4) by Jeffrey Makala in his dissertation. Please let me know if you have any further questions about this matter.

Yours,



David L. Gants, Editor
Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

